They're After the Oil Co-Ops—*S. J. Neal*

THE Nation

August 20, 1949

UPSALA COLLEGE LIBRARY
EAST ORANGE, N. J.

The Big Fix

Los Angeles with the Lid Off

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

*

The Last of Britain's Empire

What Can Be Expected of Africa?

BY DAVID C. WILLIAMS

*

Supreme Court Stalemate?

BY OSMOND K. FRAENKEL

20 CENTS A COPY · EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865 · 7 DOLLARS A YEAR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

For Your Convenience

THE *Nation*

☐ *with* Harper's Magazine $9.50
You Save $2.50

☐ *with* Consumers Union $10.75
You Save $1.25

☐ *with* Harper's Magazine and Consumers Union $13.25
You Save $3.75

All club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE *Nation by itself:*

☐ One Year $7 ☐ Two Years $12 ☐ Three Years $17

☐ SERVICEMEN'S SUBSCRIPTION $5 A YEAR, IF MAILED TO A MILITARY ADDRESS

Canadian and Foreign Postage $1 a year extra

THE NATION
20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years.
  ☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

_____

_____

_____

NAME_____

STREET_____

CITY_____ ZONE____ STATE_____

8/20/49

SPECIAL NOTICE TO READERS:

To Subscribers:

Nation subscribers should give us at least three weeks' notice of a change of address, indicating the old as well as the new address.

Please cooperate by renewing your current subscription on receipt of the first notice of expiration.

To Newsstand Readers:

The only certain way of getting *The Nation* regularly is to enter a subscription. By doing so you will not only insure prompt receipt of your copy but save considerable money.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 169 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • AUGUST 20, 1949 NUMBER 8

The Shape of Things

SOME AMERICAN OFFICIALS IN GERMANY are said to have been alarmed by the resurgent nationalism that marked the election campaign for the West German Bundestag and by the aggressive hostility which all parties displayed toward the occupying powers. It is a little difficult to see how they could have expected anything else. To a greater degree than the French and the British we have given encouragement to the right and shown only a studied indifference toward the Social Democrats. The ultra-nationalism of the right was to be expected, and the hostility of the left we made inevitable. If it was gratitude we were looking for from the Christian Democrats and their right-wing allies, then experience had surely taught us little of the behavior of chauvinists burdened with the humiliation of defeat. As the result of Germany's first free election in sixteen years, it is these forces that will now be in control, subject to the decreasingly effective check of Allied supervision. In the nature of things, their nationalism should deepen. Faced with the thankless job of reconstruction in a truncated country, they will need a scapegoat for failures and frustrations that can scarcely be avoided. It is not hard to see the occupying powers filling that role to the extent that they may yet wish they had shown a fairer face to the Social Democrats. At the same time the conservatives will be identified in the public mind with the period of "collaboration"; like the Social Democrats of the Weimar Republic they will be targets for the extremists, Nazi and Communist alike. The full implications of the election will have to wait for detailed study, on the spot, but little as we relish the return of German toryism, we can see, offhand, certain advantages to the Social Democrats in putting in a year or two as leaders of the opposition.

✶

WHATEVER HIS WEAKNESS FOR FRIENDS OF, shall we say, a susceptible nature, President Truman undoubtedly shares the general distaste for the buying and selling of influence, real or alleged, now coming to light in Washington. It would be helpful, of course, if he would say so with a little of the vigor that marked his fight for election. And it would be politically wise, for the involvement of his military aide, Major General Vaughan, is the most obvious kind of capital for his opponents. These, in turn, can be relied on to magnify the findings of the Senate investigating committee out of all perspective. No accusations of bribery or official corruption have yet been made, and the influence of the go-betweens appears as often as not to have been illusory. It is worth noting, too, that the five-percenters now under fire are the little man's fixers. The giant corporations have well-established quarters in the capital, staffed with permanently employed gentry who presumably know their Who's Who in Procurement. Men like Colonel James V. Hunt, now under investigation, attempted to render similar service to the small fry, and in order to get business they did their best to have prospective clients infer that they dined daily with Cabinet heads and passed most of their spare evenings at the White House. Little producers, unable to spare the time involved in traipsing from one purchasing official to another and utterly lost in the maze of red tape, were glad to settle a percentage of their receipts on these slick agents. Whether or not any serious graft is discovered by the Senate committee, the government's procurement system is plainly due for an overhauling. Efforts are reportedly being made by the military agencies to ease the way of prospective salesmen. If they are effective—and extended—the five-percenter will find it hardly worth while even to know General Vaughan.

✶

BY SOME OF THE YEAR'S FANCIEST statistical sleight-of-hand Herbert Hoover has adduced the possibility that half the voters in the country are now in regular receipt of government moneys. To reach this conclusion, designed to show that we are already "on the last mile to collectivism," it is necessary only to perform the following act of prestidigitation: Take, first, legitimate government employees, federal, state, and local—the most recent figure is roughly six million, though this includes school-teachers, firemen, street-cleaners, and town dog-catchers, all probably less involved in the "collectivist" process than the directors of a few first-class industrial monopolies. To these add the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS
The Shape of Things 165
"Wetback Invasion" 168
Arms for Europe 168

ARTICLES
The Big Fix in Los Angeles
by Carey McWilliams 170
The Importance of Being Leopold
by Alexander Werth 172
David Low's Cartoon 174
Supreme Court Stalemate?
by Osmond K. Fraenkel 175
In The Wind 176
They're After the Oil Co-ops
by Sidney J. Neal 177
The Last of Britain's Empire
by David C. Williams 179
Liberty on the American Campus:
II. Conditional Freedom
by Harold J. Laski 181

BOOKS AND THE ARTS
Notes by the Way in London
by Margaret Marshall 183
Decline and Fall *by Ernest Jones* 184
The Art of Eisenstein *by Nathan Glick* 185
Old Patterns, New Forms
by Charles E. Noyes 185
Mr. Poe and Others *by Joseph Kraft* 186
Ernst Cassirer *by Justus Buchler* 187
"Long, Lean Proletarian"
by McAlister Coleman 188
Books in Brief 189
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 190

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 191

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 323
by Frank W. Lewis opposite 192

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Executive Editor: Harold C. Field
Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo
Literary Editor Margaret Marshall
Associate Editor: Robert Bendiner
Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison
Washington Editor: Thomas Sancton
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin
Assistant Editor: Jerry Tallmer *Copy Editor:* Gladys Whiteside
Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting
Staff Contributors
Carey McWilliams, Reinhold Niebuhr, Maxwell S. Stewart, J. King Gordon, Ralph Bates, Andrew Roth

Business & Advertising Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1949, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.
Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year; Foreign and Canadian $1.
Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.
Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

roster of the armed forces on active duty, by the latest count 1,885,000. Then throw in all pensioners—social-security, civil-service, and military going back to the 1849 affair with Mexico, for which we are still paying off a few dozen widows. Still far short of the mark—half the voting strength at the last election would be 24,244,608—you add, under the Hoover formula, "employees of contractors working for the government." Since this might well include the total working force of most of the large industrial concerns in the country, you will by this time have at least a respectable figure, but to be on the safe side Mr. Hoover suggests that you assume, just for argument's sake of course, that all these recipients of the public treasure are married and that therefore it is fair to double the total. This, he implies, should bring you to the twenty-four-million mark, and all you have to do then is assume that all twenty-four million not only are potential voters but actually go to the polls, thereby representing half the voting strength of the country. The truth is that little more than half the eligible voters ever cast their ballots as a rule—52 per cent in 1948—and presumably the ratio should hold in the case of these "public charges." But need we go on? The weather is as hard on us as it probably was on Mr. Hoover.

✕

FOR AN EFFECTIVE ACT OF DECENCY A VOTE of thanks is due to Senator Scott W. Lucas, Majority Leader, and to Republican Senators Taft and Ives. These are the men who prevented one of their colleagues from flouting the will of his own committee, of the Senate itself, of the Administration, and of every political party engaged in the last election. More important, they offer a ray of hope to thousands of wretched souls dragging out their days in those displaced-persons camps that still disgrace the world more than four years after the end of the war. The Senator who placed his own mean spirit above the expressed desire of so many is the Honorable Pat McCarran, Democrat, of Nevada. The action taken last week by Lucas and others was to promote a petition to blast a new D. P. bill from McCarran's Judiciary Committee, where the arrogant Nevadan sought to keep it buried without ever letting it go to a vote. In the Eightieth Congress Chapman Revercomb, of West Virginia, tried similarly to blast the hopes of the war's most tragic victims and was chiefly responsible for the shabby and discriminatory law now on the books. His constituents threw him out of office last November, and pledges to liberalize the law were made by his victorious opponent and by all Presidential candidates. Then along came Mr. McCarran with the bland determination to repeat the whole foul episode. It is to the lasting credit of his fellow-Senators that they found his performance so raw as to warrant a step rarely taken in either

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

chamber of Congress—and perhaps never before by party agreement. The likelihood now is that the Senate will adopt something like the House bill, which would raise the total of D. P.'s to be admitted by June 1, 1951, from 205,000 to 339,000 and make eligible all who arrived in the occupied zones of Western Europe before January 1, 1949. If this still falls short of what needs to be done, it will at least restore some of the self-respect of which the McCarrans and Revercombs have been persistently robbing their countrymen.

*

THE UNEMPLOYMENT WHICH ACCOMPANIES the present recession, though not a large proportion of the labor force as compared with pre-war years, has hit some regions more severely than others, and where it is heaviest has caused real distress. About nineteen such localities have been identified by the federal government, and orders have gone out to favor these places in government contracts. This involves no additional appropriation; it is merely an executive redistribution of public spending that would be made anyway. In a budget of some $40 billion there must be a good deal of room for this kind of discretion. Though in some cases it may be difficult to find any appropriate purchases to help a particular district, there are very few kinds of goods that the government does not buy. With the aid of industries in the localities it ought to be possible to find the sources of orders within the government. Another action by government that will increase the country's economic stability is the apparently impending passage by Congress of the law raising the minimum wage to 75 cents an hour. It has taken three steady years of Presidential recommendation to get the measure this far, but it is just as good an action to take in a recession as it would have been during inflation.

No Such Critter

IN an effort to verify Carey McWilliams's story about the anonymous Artie Samish (The Guy Who Gets Things Done, in *The Nation,* July 9, 1949) a skeptical Salt Lake City subscriber sent a communication to the Chamber of Commerce in Sacramento requesting information about the fabulous Artie—only to receive the following reply: "We are sorry we are unable to find any information on Mr. Arthur Samish. Possibly you could tell us how Mr. Samish figures in California or Sacramento history if you are unable to locate any material in your local library." Doubtless by this time the Sacramento Chamber of Commerce has read The Secret Boss of California by Lester Velie in *Collier's* for August 13. However, if the officials of the chamber were regular readers of *The Nation* they would have come across the same information—a month earlier.

WHILE 1,200 DELEGATES TO THE STATE American Legion convention in Salem, Oregon, sat in silence, shocked and amazed, Frank L. Belgrano, Portland banker and former National Commander of the Legion, lashed out at the national Legion officers, who, he said, form "a well-oiled machine" which serves their own interests. In fact, the Legion is likely to become politically and morally bankrupt, the Oregon legionnaires were told, because of "a machine of racketeers who are ruining the whole Legion set-up." National Legion officers vote themselves into big jobs with fat salaries and make deals to appoint each other to lucrative committee posts. "If there are not enough committees to accommodate these men, then new committees are organized—not because the committees are needed, but so that machine members will not be left out of the picture." Belgrano has promised a major fight against the present top leadership of the Legion at the forthcoming Philadelphia convention. Although there is nothing new in these charges, Belgrano is perhaps the first beneficiary of the inner hierarchy to speak out against its control. Win, lose, or draw, he has, by this blast, assured himself top billing at Philadelphia.

*

WHEN SPRUILLE BRADEN, TALKING OFF THE record at a recent round-table conference at Johns Hopkins University, quoted a comment likening President Perón of Argentina to Al Capone he was obviously erring on the side of restraint. But the story trickled out, and the Argentine authorities, for reasons that doubtless have little to do with *amour propre,* decided to build it up into an "incident." They reproduced in the press, complete with photostats, a letter on State Department stationery dated January 10, 1946, and marked "personal and confidential," from Mr. Braden, then Assistant Secretary of State, to a friend in the Unión Democrática, the anti-Perón coalition of parties. The friend had asked that an "international plan of action" be formulated to head off the probable consequences of a Perón victory in the coming elections—or the coup that was expected in the case of a Perón defeat. Mr. Braden generally supported the views expressed in the letter and replied prophetically:

> . . . If neither the regional inter-American system nor the United Nations organization is able to meet and check promptly the menace to peace and security which is represented by the Perón regime, I fear widespread disillusionment with respect to our capacity to deal with the kind of menace which brought on World War II.

Somehow the Perón propaganda office got hold of this "personal and confidential" letter and hoarded it for the moment it would come in handy—that is, now. What concerns Ambassador Bruce, said Milton Bracker in the New York *Times,* "is the fact that Argentines seem able to reproduce confidential State Department docu-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ments whenever they please." We call this little episode to the attention of the FBI and the Un-American Activities Committee, and we do so in no spirit of irony. If it seems worth while to expose State Department leaks to Russia in 1937 and 1938, how does it happen that leaks to the Perón government—particularly if they are on the scale indicated by Ambassador Bruce—go uninvestigated and undisclosed?

"Wetback Invasion"

DURING the war the existence of an acute manpower shortage in this country and the regulation of labor-recruitment in Mexico by international agreement brought about a mild improvement in the status of Mexican Americans in the border states. After the war the regulations were abandoned and the old illegal border-crossing was renewed on a large scale, with the tacit approval of state and federal officials. A recent report of the Advisory Committee for the study of Spanish-speaking people brings into sharp focus the issues involved in illegal Mexican immigration, the so-called "wetback invasion."

No one knows the precise number of "wetbacks" in Texas. The number varies with changing conditions and seasonal demands from around 100,000 in January to perhaps 400,000 in mid-summer. In the last two fiscal years the Immigration Service has reported the deportation of about 200,000 annually. These statistics provide an inadequate measure of the total traffic. During the cotton-picking season the Immigration Service finds it almost impossible to locate "wetbacks"; but the number deported will often reach a total of 30,000 a month once the cotton is picked. The presence of this large army of surplus labor has an utterly demoralizing effect on wage levels and working standards.

Over a period of many years strong pressures have drawn workers north from Mexico. Unemployment in that country, coupled with the attraction of jobs across the border, has created an irresistible one-way "pull." Moreover, the major industries of the Southwest have been capitalized, in many cases, on the basis of the availability of cheap Mexican labor. In this manner a single labor market has been forged which embraces areas both north and south of the international boundary. As long as the "pull" exists, and there is no counterweight, Mexicans will cross the border either legally or illegally.

Although regulation of labor recruiting by agreement between the two countries offers some hope of correcting the worst aspects of the traffic, the terms of the new agreement now being negotiated should be critically examined. The war-time understanding provided that Mexican nationals were to be paid at "prevailing" wage rates. But what determines the "prevailing" wage in an area if it is not the size and character of the labor supply? In the absence of strong unions, hearings conducted by federal agencies to determine appropriate wage scales will merely formalize unilateral decisions already reached by employers. Strict enforcement of border regulations and the deportation of all "wetbacks" would probably have a tendency to increase wages in Texas, and this in turn would intensify the desire of many Mexicans to slip across the border.

The fact is that there is no single, easily formulated solution of this problem. Intelligent organization of the labor market, the adoption of labor standards, and a social-welfare program for farm labor would help. If the Immigration Service is compelled to limit its function to the discharge of its statutory duties, instead of acting as a farm recruitment and placement service, a long step forward will have been taken. The conclusion of an agreement between Mexico and the United States setting forth comprehensive regulations to be enforced by an independent agency would do much to eliminate existing abuses. In addition, the two countries should approach the problem not as an international dispute but as an issue involving the proper development of a region which happens to extend both north and south of the border. This implies, of course, that some attempt would be made to equalize conditions by the creation of more and better job opportunites in Mexico. In a sense, the key to the problem is held by the large Mexican American population of Texas, which could apply political pressure to force a thoroughgoing reconsideration of what has been called "the outstanding issue facing the state of Texas today."

Arms for Europe

AS THE days pass it becomes more and more evident that speed rather than accuracy is the primary consideration in the Administration's handling of the military-aid program. In spite of the insistence of various officials, testifying before the Senate Armed Services and Foreign Relations committees, that not a penny could safely be knocked off the $1,450,000,000 asked for, critics of the bill have exposed the large margins of doubt that surround the whole project. Obviously the Atlantic Pact nations require arms if the purposes of the pact are to be carried out in the terms visualized by its sponsors. But no one yet knows what kind of arms in what quantities will be needed where. Even the sudden announcement that the French army is to be made the chief instrument of Continental defense and will receive the largest share of American aid has done no more than raise new questions. Assuming this strategic decision has actually been taken, what exactly is the state of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

French army today; what will be its size and requirements under the new program; how is it to be integrated with the other Continental forces and those of Britain, and under what plan of defense? Perhaps the Joint Chiefs of Staff, reporting to the Senate committees on their recent discussions with the military staffs of several European states, have given convincing evidence that the sums Congress is asked to approve have been nicely calculated to finance a well-defined scheme of preparedness. But the fact remains that the recommendations for joint defense under the North Atlantic treaty are supposed to be worked out by the defense council provided for in the treaty and not yet set up. So any plans now in being must be regarded as tentative, and any appropriations made can only be based on intelligent guesswork.

Another large area of likely error lies in the instability of the American economy. The cost of reconditioning and shipping surplus military supplies can doubtless be closely figured, but these will form a small proportion of the total. What about the bulk of the equipment, still to be ordered and manufactured? Even if the arms-aid program were complete and accurate to the last gun, the amount required to carry it out would be impossible to calculate in a period of declining prices like the present. Or to put the point the other way round, when the Administration asks for approximately a billion and a half dollars it is either asking for a quantity of material which cannot now be estimated or it is preparing to pay present prices for goods whose market value may have dropped to a much lower level before they are made or delivered.

Nor can our legislators be reassured as to the use to which the American funds will be put. One of the largest items in the French military budget is the war in Indo-China. Similar but proportionately smaller items appear in the budgets of Great Britain and the Netherlands, though a settlement in Indonesia would end that drain on the Dutch economy. These are aspects of the problem of rearmament that our State and Defense officials do not like to have brought into the discussion. But the fact remains, and should be considered by Congress, that as long as the colonial powers are engaged in putting down native rebellions in the East Indies and Eastern Asia, the defense of Western Europe under the Atlantic Pact will cost America just that much more. Apart from any moral or political significance, this introduces another big element of uncertainty into the financing of the arms-aid bill.

By ignoring or brushing aside these and other proper questions concerning the appropriation it is asking for, the Administration reveals its chief purpose. It wants the arms bill passed quickly and it wants as little open debate as possible. This undoubtedly accounts for the proposal, still to be considered as we go to press, that the RFC be authorized to advance for immediate use some $800,000,000 of the total amount provided for in the bill—a scheme which would in effect bypass the Appropriations committees of the two houses and finance more than half the program without requiring Congress to vote the money directly. The plan is not likely to succeed, but it shows to what lengths the Administration is ready to go to get its measure through unscathed.

To us this seems as unwise as it is undemocratic. There is more at stake than a swift demonstration that the United States is all set to provide "force to meet force," as W. Averell Harriman put it. Nobody any longer suspects that Russia is planning an early attack on the West. General Bradley himself, although urging fast, full-scale action from Congress, said that we were "not impelled by crisis, or desperation, or fear of impending war." He believed rather that we should seize the initiative because "the tide of communism has been stemmed in Europe." But this would seem a better reason for insisting upon careful debate, a solid plan of action, and full consideration of all ticklish problems involved in the rearming of Europe. Not only is the issue clouded by ambiguities which should be resolved before any measure is adopted, but Congress should be given a chance to discuss also the plan of strategy—political as well as military—which the funds will help carry out.

Perhaps a temporary compromise might be based on the Vandenberg-Fulbright suggestion that a smaller, less expensive program be voted now, pending the recommendations of the defense council to be set up under the North Atlantic treaty. If such a scheme were limited to the current fiscal year and provision were made for a reconsideration of the whole issue when the council's plan and all the pertinent facts are available, it would serve to reassure our European allies without committing this country to the full two-year appropriation or foreclosing the chance of informed debate on an issue that may, after all, decide the fate of the world.

Del Vayo Gets into Spain

J. Alvarez del Vayo, former Foreign Minister of Republican Spain, now *The Nation's* foreign editor, has just returned to Paris after a clandestine trip inside Spain. Mr. del Vayo's sensational story of his venture into Franco territory will appear

in next week's issue of
THE *Nation*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Big Fix in Los Angeles

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Los Angeles

OUR City of the Angels is mired down in what is probably the most amazing political scandal since Felipe de Vene founded El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora La Reina de Los Angeles de Porciuncula on September 4, 1781. The city, of course, has had its share of unsavory political messes; but in the past at least one law-enforcement agency has usually remained independent of the "fix" and, with the aid of the newspapers, has finally managed to restore civic order. In the current debacle, the "fix" seems to be complete; all the enforcement agencies, without exception, have strange and painfully obvious reticences. And the press is guarding its secrets well. I hasten to point out, however, that "fix" as here used, is not necessarily synonymous with that ugly word "bribery"; it relates, rather, to a network of alliances and commitments and obligations, all mutually reenforcing, of such a nature as to work a complete paralysis of law enforcement.

The story starts in this way. The Los Angeles *Daily News* actively supported Mayor Fletcher Bowron in his recent campaign for re-election. About two days after he had been re-elected for a fourth term, the *News* broke a story about scandal in the police department. The *News* confessed that it had known of this situation for more than a year, but this information—which would have been of great interest to the voters—had been kept secret until Bowron, who has appointed two executives of the paper to important commissions, had been re-elected.

Shortly before the election, vice squad members Rudy Wellpott and E. V. Jackson had arrested one of Mickey Cohen's henchmen in what Cohen noisily charged was an attempted shake-down. Thereupon the fabulous Mickey—of whom more later—offered in evidence at the trial of his lieutenant certain sound-recordings purporting to record highly interesting conversations between Jackson and Brenda Allen, a well-known prostitute. The offer was rejected but Mickey's henchman was acquitted. The recordings, incidentally, were made for, by, or with the knowledge of the police department. The story that the *News* had finally decided to reveal was based on revelations by another member of the vice squad concerning Jackson and the famous Brenda. The question then arose: "Where are the recordings?" The grand jury summoned one police official after another and heard a succession of pat stories revealing nothing. However, when Brenda decided to talk, the recordings reappeared —in the custody of a former United States District Attorney—as suddenly and as mysteriously as they had vanished.

In the meantime, it developed that the *News'* informant, a Sergeant Stoker, was involved in serious financial difficulties which may have had something to do with his decision to tell his story to the press. In any case, he was suspended from the force, arrested, and charged with attempted burglary. Police Chief C. B. Horrall, then resigned; but by now the grand jury was annoyed and indictments were returned against Horrall and Joe Reed, the assistant chief, along with Messrs. Wellpott and Jackson.

At this point, of course, the public was justifiably confused; everything appeared to be hopelessly mixed up, with vice masquerading as virtue and virtue as vice. The entire city felt somehow the victim of a shabby trick, for it had just re-elected Bowron, a popular "reform" mayor not so many years ago, in a campaign in which the Mayor had sounded the trumpets against gangsterism and corruption. But Los Angeles political scandals are likely to have unconventional plots. And this latest plot is full of suspense, fabulous characters, and exciting drama.

For in the early morning hours of July 20, Mickey Cohen, his companions and bodyguards, emerged from Sherry's Restaurant and were caught in a murderous fusillade from across the street. Cohen and several others were hit; Cohen's close associate, Neddie Herbert, mortally injured. Among the wounded was an investigator assigned to guard Cohen by Attorney-General Fred N. Howser. The assignment of a bodyguard by the state to guard a well-known gangster would, under any circumstances, be the subject of intense civic scrutiny; but, with Mr. Howser already in a peck of trouble, (see Machines, Political and Slot, *Nation,* May 28, 1949) knowing tongues began to wag.

THE facts seem to be that Mickey Cohen was at outs with a faction of the vice squad—over something; that there was a serious split within this squad—over something; and that someone or some group—eastern gangsters, local "punks," or perhaps the police themselves—was determined to liquidate Cohen. But there are other, larger gaps in the story. Governor Warren's Commission on Organized Crime, through its able counsel Warren Olney, has been harping on the subject of bookmaking. With no cooperation whatever from the Attorney-General, the Sheriff, the Los Angeles County

CAREY McWILLIAMS, a staff contributor, has long been a close observer of the California political scene.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Grand Jury, the Mayor, or the police, the commission has revealed the existence of a $7,000,000 betting syndicate making pay-offs, to someone, of $427,000 a year, with police officers functioning as "collection agents." No one knows the number of bookies in Los Angeles alone but the number must be fabulous. Yet, in an inquiry into vice, the grand jury showed a remarkable reluctance to investigate bookmaking, preferring to feed the newspapers breathtaking headlines about Brenda and the police. And the press, for its part, seems unable to determine the answers to a number of reasonably simple questions: How extensive is bookmaking in Los Angeles? Who controls it? Why do the law-enforcement agencies fail to clamp down on it if they are really interested in Mr. Cohen's activities? And just what is Cohen's relation to the police and the press?

Mickey Cohen, whose name figures so conspicuously in this recital, is proof of the brilliant insight of F. Scott Fitzgerald into certain aspects of social life in America. For Cohen is The Great Gatsby; in fact, if there were any evidence that Cohen could read, one might suspect that he had consciously modeled his career after Gatsby's. Born on the east side of Los Angeles thirty-five years ago, Mickey was a chronic truant in school, a newspaper hustler, and, finally, a professional fighter. Not too successful in the ring, he had several minor run-ins with the law before he emerged as the operator of a gambling parlor in Chicago. Various troubles in Chicago prompted a return to his native Los Angeles where he was immediately involved in a succession of difficulties including the killing of Max Shaman in 1945. Fred N. Howser, then District Attorney, rejected a complaint for murder and wrote the offense off as "justifiable homicide." Events moved very rapidly thereafter with highpoints in the successive murders of Benny ("The Meatball") Gamson, Pauley Gibbons, and Bugsy Siegel. The interesting point about Cohen's police record, however, is that until a year or so ago he was a minor operator without influence, prestige, or connections. And then, following the pattern of events suggested, he suddenly became enormously wealthy, powerful and influential, the clearly dominant figure in the gambling world of Los Angeles. The record does not reveal whether he fought his way to power or was simply chosen. It does detail a number of gangland murders, in none of which he was directly implicated, prior to his emergence as the refulgent Lord of Sunset Strip.

Small, dark, dapper, Mickey is forever washing his hands. He relishes fine clothes, luxurious surroundings, good food and drink. Like Gatsby, he is a hopeless romantic. There was the celebrated occasion when he took over a nightclub in Hollywood, put the heat on the bookies, and raised some $300,000 for one of the extremist groups in Palestine. He has been involved in several ludicrous knight-errant escapades, and his reputation as a soft touch and generous host is legendary. Traveling in the center car of a fleet of new Cadillacs, Cohen has some forty or fifty characters in his entourage with whose records the police are well acquainted. Mickey has social aspiration. He has tried to acquire the airs and manners of a gentleman in an effort to erase the memory of those sordid days before he had acquired his present eminence. And, like Gatsby, he is a fascinating figure to all sorts of people—columnists, politicians, movie actors, society figures, and others—who are drawn to him by stories of his power and wealth, his fabulous hospitality, and above all, by the curiosity that people have about a man who moves about under the shadow of a death sentence.

Mickey makes his headquarters in an elegant office in the rear of the not surprisingly successful "Michael's Exclusive Haberdashery" in the Sunset Strip. Mickey also owns a jewelry store, several super-markets, and has other "holdings." He lives in a $200,000 establishment in Brentwood, protected by an intricate system of electronic alarms.

From the facts it is quite clear that Mr. Cohen has for some time coordinated bookmaking activities in Los Angeles County. The press says as much and the gallant Cohen offers no denial. Enormous tribute is collected every week from hundreds of individual bookies, the large horse parlors, and the open gambling houses. That a fantastic "fix" is involved is implicit in the facts. Yet the press digs no deeper into the mess. In the wake of the shooting of July 20 the Los Angeles *Mirror* carried a small boxed item which stated that Mickey Cohen had had dinner with Artie Samish, "widely known state political figure," at the Charochko Cafe the night before

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the shooting. The *Daily News,* in an artfully casual reference to the dinner party, said that the "Sacramento lobbyist is credited with first telling Cohen he had been honored with a bodyguard." And there the press let this fascinating item rest. There was no attempt to interview Samish, or to explore the Cohen-Samish friendship, or to find out why the Sacramento lobbyist brought word to the Los Angeles gangster that a bodyguard had been assigned by the Attorney-General of California.

IT IS illegal, of course, to bet on the result of a horse race in California except through the pari-mutuel machines at licensed tracks. Through the "tote" machines, the State of California is an active partner in the business of racing and receives a handsome income. Anxious to protect their monopoly, the existing licensed tracks have heavily subsidized all sorts of civic organizations and public enterprises, with an eye to purchasing good will and thus neutralizing potential opposition. On the board of Santa Anita may be found some highly influential citizens including at least one member of the Governor's Commission on Organized Crime.

Without Santa Anita and the other licensed tracks, the wire services would not be interested in California; without the wire services there could be no domination of bookmaking by gangsters; as long as there are people too poor or too busy to go to the tracks, there will be bookies, for the bookies democratize gambling. Therefore everyone is "fixed" for everyone is morally implicated in the situation which creates Mickey Cohens and corrupts police departments and does strange things to the press. One can even imagine that this vast superstructure of intrigue operates with a minimum of actual bribery or terror, for the general social situation is so corrupt that a modicum of force and bribery, strategically applied, makes it possible for the hoodlums to take over.

The "big fix" in Los Angeles, as Governor Warren has acknowledged, extends to Sacramento. It will not be easily smashed. Yet as each small item has come to light, popular indignation has mounted. All California is, at this moment, in an extremely fluid political situation and 1950 is an election year. There are persistent rumors that the FBI and other federal agencies are digging into the Los Angeles situation. In 1907 a graft prosecution in San Francisco touched off a revolt in California that swept the Southern Pacific machine from power and elected Hiram Johnson governor; there is enough force in the Los Angeles "fix" to start a similar revolt and drive the lobbyists from Sacramento—for a time. For 1950 is not 1907 and one can look back upon the "fix" of that earlier period as an incredibly simple and unsophisticated arrangement. But there will be an explosion, and California is waiting, right now, to see how big a blowup it will be.

The Importance of Being Leopold

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Brussels, August 11

IS IT not absurd that in the middle of the twentieth-century a civilized democratic country in Europe should have been without a government for nearly two months merely because the political parties could not agree on who was to sit on the throne of Belgium? One bright young diplomat expressed his impatience by quoting Lewis Carroll's Tweedledum and Tweedledee; and yet the battle over the bright new rattle would not stop for any monstrous crow, not even in the face of the economic and international problems that beset Belgium. It is true that Belgium, with its relatively favorable economic position, could afford the luxury of the rattle-battle more easily than others. But that is not the main point. No country could go on indefinitely without a government. Finally, the Liberal Party joined the Social-Christian cabinet headed by Gaston Eyskens, with the understanding that the issue of the return of Leopold would be postponed indefinitely.

Meantime, the crisis had a curious effect on the country. But it would be a mistake to imagine that the reactions are all favorable to Leopold. If, on the one hand, the politicians annoyed people by their failure to agree, there is the feeling even among many Royalists that Leopold, in his desperate eagerness to get his job back, has shown a striking lack of regal dignity, and that his chances of receiving "unquestionable" support in a "popular consultation" are less good today than they would have been two months ago.

There is a strong suspicion among a growing number of people that M. Spaak was clever enough to realize that the longer the Battle of the Rattle went on, the more numerous would be the chances given to Leopold to make a fool of himself. The "you-must-have-confidence-in-me" statement the King issued August 5, produced the inevitable "Oh yeah?" from millions of Belgians—who thereupon proceeded to recall the marriage, the visit to Berchtesgaden, the mysterious departure in '44, and much else.

At the moment, nevertheless, Leopold still has wide support in the country, and the whole Belgian crisis was a particularly glaring demonstration of the post-war stage

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

through which Western Europe is passing today. In France, there is a strong movement for a broad amnesty in favor of collaborators; "Liberate Petain" is a slogan appearing more and more frequently in the press. There are even such unbelievable ceremonies as the mass at Notre Dame in memory of the traitor Philippe Henriot.

THE mass was, however, attended by only a handful of thugs who slunk away at the first sign of trouble, and when, the other day, Otto Abetz got twenty years, the Vichyites had to recognize the unhappy fact that French opinion was not yet prepared to forget everything. Nobody in France openly dares yet declare himself a Vichyite though academic discussions justifying Vichy are quite common, as is the phrase "They should never have shot Laval." Yet if the pro-Vichy right is still rather shamefaced in France, the same cannot be said of its equivalent in Belgium. Leopold is important because he represents a political attitude; an attitude which, in 1945 seemed a thing of the murky past, but which is today not only becoming permissible but, in the eyes of millions of Belgians, almost, if not entirely, respectable. Among the leading politicians, Leopold's most determined supporter is Paul van Zeeland. M. van Zeeland is the man who, together with Leopold, paved the way for the Hoare-Laval plan.

Leopold's and Van Zeeland's connection, then and later, with Mussolini and the Italian Royal family was an open secret. Leopold's sister is the wife of ex-King Umberto II, and it was she who, according to the Socialists, exercised a continuous influence on Leopold both before and after 1940 and who finally arranged for his war-time meeting with Hitler.

No one today blames Leopold for having capitulated in 1940. But no serious student denies Leopold's responsibility for the policy which finally led to the improvised dash into Belgium of the best French and British troops, who were then inevitably trapped by the Germans. And what happened then? The dossier on Leopold published by the Belgian Socialists before the election, called *La Question Royale*, is one of the most devastating bills of indictment brought against a European statesman during the occupation. Not one fact produced by the Socialists has been effectively contradicted or disproved. The truth is that in 1940 Leopold convinced himself that Germany had, in fact, won the war, and that he hastened to Berchtesgaden to get Hitler to approve of Belgian "independence" within the framework of the New Order, with Leopold as King of this vassal state. He had tea and cakes with Hitler, but, much to Leopold's disappointment, Hitler refused to commit himself. It did not suit him for strategic reasons, to turn Belgium even into another Vichy at that stage.

So Leopold remained in Belgium as "the prisoner of Laeken, sharing the fate of his people." Only that is precisely what he did not do. His "imprisonment" was very relative; he was allowed to go on trips to Vienna and Munich, and the legend of the fellow-martyr which the Belgian people entertained for a time was rudely shaken by the news that the King had married Mlle. Liliane Baels, a member of a particularly reactionary Flemish family, with a notorious war-time record. Although Elizabeth, the aging Queen Mother, is said to have intervened successfully with the Germans on behalf of various people, no concrete case in which the King raised a finger for anybody has been recorded. There is a persistent story going around in Belgium, calculated no doubt to gain support for the King among the Flemish, that it was he who obtained from the Germans the early release of the Flemish prisoners they held —but not of the Walloon prisoners!

In 1944 representatives of the Belgian Resistance urged the King either to slip away and join the Resistance movement, or at least to stay on in Brussels and await the arrival of the Western allies. He would do neither, and, according to the well-documented Socialist dossier, asked the Germans to remove him and his family to Germany. Thereupon the legend was created of his "forcible" removal by the Germans; this, Leopold thought, would largely rehabilitate him in the eyes of his people. Nobody seems to have been taken in by it. Much to his annoyance, General Eisenhower later "prevented" him from returning to Brussels. He has since been living in Switzerland with his beautiful Flemish wife, the "Princess of Rethy," a title, as *Le Peuple* has indelicately recalled, used by the late Queen Astrid when she travelled incognito. The Socialist dossier shows the two wining and dining at night-clubs (a series of pictures singularly like those we used to see of the Windsors) and the final picture of the pair has as its caption "May they live happily ever after, but leave us alone to work in peace."

BUT Leopold is not content with the role of the Duke of Windsor. He is ambitious, and suffers from injured vanity and pride. Many nasty things were said about him, especially in England. He never once had the good grace to thank the Allies for liberating Belgium. Even the mild criticism of Leopold in Mr. Churchill's book aroused the rage of the Leopoldists. These seem lately to have developed an acute dislike of England, especially of Socialist England. Perhaps these people have genuinely convinced Leopold that his return to Brussels is in Belgium's interests, though all the time I have been in Belgium I have not heard one single argument to show in what way Leopold's return would be a good thing. Belgium today is a peaceful, orderly country, in which the Regent Charles is playing his constitutional role as loyally as George VI. But no; Leopold wants to return, and claims that 70 per cent of the people want

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

him back. This is an obvious exaggeration, but many admit that if there were a popular consultation, fifty-five or even sixty percent might vote for his return, and Parliament, he hopes, would then be placed in a most embarrassing position. First of all, women would vote for him out of sentimentality; a large part of the Flemish population might vote for Leopold. He also counts on church and business support. And, above all, the vast element either actively or even remotely collaborationist would vote for him, since all these people would automatically share in the whitewashing of the King.

The Social-Christian Party, forgetting that the King is above party, campaigned for Leopold's return, believing that the reasons that would prompt millions of Belgians to vote for his return would automatically also make them vote for the "King's Party." Here there was a slight miscalculation; for they received only 43 per cent of the votes. When Van Zeeland tried to force the issue during his attempt to form the first post-election Cabinet six weeks ago neither the Socialists nor the Liberals would cooperate. Although the Socialists still insist that abdication in favor of his eighteen-year-old son Baudouin is the only solution, they have suggested that they might have to consider Leopold's return if he really has an overwhelming majority.

But if a plebiscite gave only a slim majority to Leopold, then there is a graver danger—so the argument runs—that the Walloons might well say that the Flemish have "inflicted" a King upon them. The unity of Belgium would be rudely shaken and there might well be (how often have I heard the phrase these last few days) "civil war and bloodshed" in this peaceful country. Altogether, the Socialist case against Leopold is overwhelming, and the Liberals—who, with their twenty-three members, have reluctantly agreed to form a government with the Social-Christian Party—are acutely aware of the dangers of Leopold's return. The Communists, represented by only twelve members in Parliament, say as little as possible about the royal question, in order not to play into the hands of the Leopoldists; except that, from time to time, they accuse the Socialists of playing a double game.

This is scarcely a justified accusation. It is true that while the Socialist Party is uncompromisingly anti-Leopold, and some of the federations, notably that of Namur, were against further Socialist participation in the government, the Socialist ministers, and especially M. Spaak, did until the last moment consider themselves indispensable members of any self-respecting Belgian government. Yet even if it is conceivable that M. Spaak might adapt himself to Leopold's return, Leopold would be an acute embarrassment to Spaak in his role as "the great brain of Western Union," which he—not without some reason—fancies himself to be.

For Leopold, as the ruler of Belgium, would inevitably be considered by millions of people in Western Europe in much the same light as General Franco. His life, in the last twelve years, has been too closely bound up with the wrong people, and Belgium's international prestige, built up by Spaak, would be smashed in the eyes of all who believe in any of the variants—either Socialist or non-Socialist—of "western democracy."

London *Evening Standard*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Supreme Court Stalemate?

BY OSMOND K. FRAENKEL

EVERY now and then the United States Supreme Court announces cryptically: "Affirmed by an equally divided court." This statement is accompanied by another to the effect that one justice has refrained from participation in the case. No reason for his renunciatory act appears; no record is made of how the other eight justices have voted. While the result is to affirm the particular judgment of the lower court, no legal principle has been established and no precedent set.

A decision of this nature gives the unsuccessful party and his counsel a feeling of frustration which no damning of the court at the proverbial tavern will dispel. Since the court itself, by having agreed in the first instance to take the case, must have concluded that important issues were at stake, its later refusal to decide them constitutes, in effect, a judicial abdication. And the public is denied the speedy determination of such issues which it has a right to expect.

Excluding the somewhat exceptional habeas corpus applications affecting German war criminals, there were five 4 to 4 decisions during the term of the court which ended in June. Three of these raised especially interesting points.

In the case involving Edmund Wilson's "Memoirs of Hecate County," charged with obscenity, Justice Frankfurter took no part—it was rumored that his abstention stemmed from personal friendship with the author. This was the first time in decades that the Supreme Court had heard argument in an obscenity case, perhaps the very first in which it heard such argument in a case coming from the states. Counsel had urged reversal since there was no "clear and present danger" that the book in question would corrupt morals. It had been hoped that the court would take the opportunity to make some pronouncement balancing the right of a state to punish obscene literature with that of free expression of opinion. The split court leaves this question unanswered.

A former State Department employee, Marzani, had denied that he was a Communist in an informal discussion with his superior, which he had requested when advised that his resignation had been asked for. He was convicted of having made a false statement under a law that punishes such a statement if made in a matter "within the jurisdiction of the United States." On the argument of his appeal in the United States Supreme Court a narrow construction of this law was asked for. His attorneys pointed out that otherwise the law might apply to a false statement made by any person interviewed by an FBI agent. Moreover, under the construction given by the lower courts a government office boy might be convicted for giving the classic excuse that he had had to attend his grandmother's funeral when he actually went to a ball game. Justice Douglas did not participate in that case. Again rumor has it that his absence was motivated by a friendly relation with a person who had appeared at the trial as a witness for the government.

In *Stemmer* v. *New York,* the defendants had been convicted in a state court of trying to bribe professional football players. The chief evidence against them consisted of telephone conversations overheard by detectives who had tapped their wires. The detectives had done this under a procedure authorized by New York law. The Supreme Court was asked to decide whether a state could authorize wire tapping if the federal ban on it applied to state law-enforcement officers and whether a state court could receive that kind of evidence. These issues are important and urgent since wire-tapping by state law-enforcement officers is a common practice. In this case it was Justice Jackson who did not participate, because as Solicitor General he had helped prepare a case bearing on a similar point.

In view of the nomination of Tom Clark to succeed Justice Frank Murphy, the possibility of 4 to 4 decisions in the next few years has greatly increased. For Mr. Clark, if he takes his place on the bench, necessarily will be disqualified in many of the important cases which during the past four years have passed through his office while he was Attorney General. While, of course, it is impossible to predict how the court will divide in cases such as these, the term just ended saw a large number of 5 to 4 decisions which would have been 4 to 4 decisions if Justice Murphy had not been able to participate. It is important, therefore, that something be done to prevent this from happening in the future.

PROPOSALS to remedy the situation might take several forms. In the first place, is it inevitable that a 4 to 4 decision should result in an affirmance of the decision of the lower court? This result is logical if litigation be viewed as a contest, and in civil cases that may be unavoidable. But in criminal cases it would seem more in accordance with democratic ideas of justice when the highest court has been unable to muster a majority to affirm a conviction, that enough doubt has been raised to set the prisoner free.

OSMOND K. FRAENKEL is an attorney and the author of "Our Civil Liberties."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If this solution is not acceptable to Congress, some other may be possible. When the Supreme Court found itself unable to take up the Aluminum Company case due to lack of a quorum, the law was amended so as to permit the Court of Appeals to have the last word in cases in which direct appeals to the Supreme Court from a District Court would otherwise fail for this reason. A similar lack of quorum in cases not granted direct appeal to the Supreme Court results in an "automatic" affirmance. Congress might well modify that provision to deal and give the Court of Appeals final jurisdiction whenever the Supreme Court fails to muster a quorum or when it divides evenly.

Yet the method of giving the last word to a Court of Appeals does not seem generally desirable: in the quorum cases, because of the difficulty of choosing which Court of Appeals should pass judgment on another where the case arose in the federal system itself; in the split cases because the consideration already given by eight Justices of the Supreme Court should not be lost. Other reasons, too, make it seem preferable to keep such cases in the Supreme Court itself. And that result might be accomplished in a number of ways. Congress might provide that any retired Supreme Court Justice could be recalled to sit in a particular case in place of a justice who has disqualified himself or to create a quorum. As an alternative, or perhaps additional, method, senior judges of the various Courts of Appeal might be drawn into the Supreme Court. This could be accomplished by an automatic rotating system which would obviate the responsibility for choosing particular individuals in specific situations. Indeed, Congress might even consider the appointment by the President of one or more "alternative" Supreme Court Justices to sit when needed. Still another suggestion would be that Congress might increase the total number of Supreme Court Justices to ten but provide that no more than nine should sit at one time.

Perhaps the simplest solution, at least in the cases in which only a single justice disqualifies himself, is to provide that in such event the most recently appointed remaining Associate Justice should also step down. Then seven justices would always be available for decision and no deadlock could occur. That remedy would at least have been sufficient to deal with the particular difficulties which arose at the last term.

In The Nation of September 3

Goethe and the Revolution

By J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

In the Wind

"ATOM, schmatom," said the Wind; "all is vanity and a vexation of the spirit." "How so?" asked the Candle. "Well," said the Wind, "listen to Hugh A. Brown, electrical engineer and author of 'Popular Awakening Concerning the Impending Flood,' an unpublished book of which we have been sent certain extracts: 'The South Pole,' says Mr. Brown, '. . . with the great ice mass, which has grown approximately concentric with it for approximately 8,000 years, is now rotating "off-center" around the Axis of Spin. . . . When our globe rotates about any other axis, an "off-center" centrifugal eccentric "throw" of part of the ice cap's weight is developed, producing internal earth stresses which seek relief. . . . Today the force of the "throw" . . . is producing stresses in some of the upper stratified layers of the earth's materials. When these stresses become great enough . . . they will cause earth strata to give way somewhere by crumpling or crushing, increasing the radius of gyration, and thus permitting an increase in the speed of the "off-center" elements of the ice cap, at which time its rapidly accelerating centrifugal energy of eccentric motion will quickly overbalance the stabilizing energy of the earth's bulge, and will roll the globe so as to bring the ice cap under the sun of the tropics.' "

"And then?" asked the Candle.

"And then, boom. The ice cap melts. Inundation. No Wind. No Candle. No nothing but water."

"I see," said the Candle. "Not with a bang but a dousing. Well, what do you know that's important?"

"I know that Rotary International has dropped one of its traditional mottos—'He Profits Most Who Serves Best'—because the Rotary board of directors, according to the Associated Press, 'felt the word "profit" might be misconstrued.' This leaves Rotary with only one motto: 'Service Above Self.' "

"Anything else?"

"I know that the Board of Supervisors of Los Angeles County has instructed the director of the county museum in Pasadena to check a WPA mural called 'Jedediah Smith Near San Gabriel—1826' on the theory, according to the Pasadena *Star-News*, that 'costumes in the picture are similar to the "typical dress" of the Soviet Union.' "

"Yes, yes. go on."

"I know that *Tide* magazine reports that radio station WBBM in Chicago recently substituted a show called 'It Pays to Be Ignorant' for a scheduled broadcast of 'Peace Is Our Business.' "

"Uh huh."

"And, finally, I know that the buses in Hartford, Connecticut, have lately carried the following news on advertising placards: 'Your daily choice of BRAND NAMES is one of your important American Freedoms.' "

"Thank you, Mr. Bones," said the Candle. "All's right with the world. Just look out for hell and high water."

[*Two dollars will be paid to the contributor of any item printed in* In The Wind.]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

They're After the Oil Co-ops

BY SYDNEY J. NEAL

IN 1934, Warren C. Platt, editor of the *National Petroleum News*, presented a paper to a meeting of the American Petroleum Institute on "The Cooperative Movement in America and What it Means to the Oil Industry and Private Industry in General." "Soon," he predicted, "the growth in oil cooperatives will be over and probably a lot of those running will drop out of business . . . because it is not conceivable . . . that they can be run as efficiently as an oil company." In 1947, Harry B. Hilts, president of the Petroleum Industry Research Foundation, introduced a study, "Cooperatives in the Petroleum Industry," with a statement that "the cooperatives in the United States have developed into a power that no one concerned with the future of our society can overlook."

In 1934, only a few cooperative leaders dreamed of entering the integrated oil business. Today, farmers' and consumers' coops have their own oil lands, producing wells, pipelines and other transportation equipment, refineries, blending plants, and thousands of retail outlets. Coops are the largest independent refiners and one of the most important customers of the petroleum industry. As a result, petroleum coops are being vigorously attacked by "independents" in the industry, especially those in the marketing branch. The P. I. R. F. study, a report prepared for the Empire State Petroleum Association and the Illinois Petroleum Marketers Association, is a part of that attack.

The history of the growth of cooperatives in the oil industry is a story of constant strife between the coops and their corporate competitors. In the early 1920's when individual farm cooperative associations began to enter the business of distributing oil products, they were discriminated against by the oil companies. When they were able to obtain any oil, it was at relatively high prices. In order to meet that problem, some of the farm associations organized their own cooperative wholesaler (Midland Cooperative Wholesale) in 1926. Other wholesaler coops sprang up and for a short time their massed purchasing power enabled farm associations to obtain oil at reasonable prices.

In 1933, eight regional wholesale associations merged to form National Cooperatives, Inc., further enhancing their bargaining position. Shortly thereafter, manufacturers began to refuse to supply the coops with adequate quantities of petroleum products. Faced with another crisis, the oil coops decided to enter the refining branch of the industry. In 1938, the Cooperative Refinery Association, a subsidiary of Consumers Cooperative Association (an organization similar to National Cooperatives, Inc.), started building its first refinery at Phillipsburg, Kansas. The reaction of the coops' corporate competitors to that venture is typical of the entire history of the oil coops.

CCA had chosen Phillipsburg as the site because an independent field was located there with no outlet for the crude oil being produced. The independent producers agreed to sell that oil to CCA if they would build a refinery there. However, as soon as construction of the refining plant was started, the oil being produced at the Phillipsburg field became very important. Oil companies constructed pipelines into the field to take the oil out and by the time the CCA refinery was completed it looked as though it would have to go hunting for oil. The "independent" producers told CCA they were sorry but they had to sell the oil to somebody else. It was only after loud protests by Kansas farmers to the governor and the state Legislature, that a supply of crude oil from that field became available.

Since 1938 the coops have expanded rapidly in the refining, transportation, and production branches of the oil industry. The statistics presented by the Petroleum Industry Research Foundation indicate that the coops' rate of growth in the Middle West has been much more rapid than that of their corporate competitors. This has seriously alarmed the oil industry.

FIRST of all, as Dr. K. E. Ettinger points out in Part II of "Cooperatives in the Petroleum Industry," "It is characteristic of the integration of the coops that it rests on a broad basis of consumer acceptance. Moreover, the growing interest of labor unions indicates that consumer support will continue to increase in the future. Secondly, many companies in the oil industry are in an extremely vulnerable position." This reason for alarm requires further examination because it explains both the source and the viciousness of the current attack on the coops.

Oil companies are usually divided into two categories —the "majors" and the "independents," classifications based on size and degree of integration. Most of the twenty-odd majors are in all four branches of the industry—production, transportation, refining, and marketing. They do not produce or market all the oil that they

SYDNEY J. NEAL has made an extensive study of the oil industry in the course of preparing a research thesis at the University of Chicago.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

refine. Nor do the majors refine all of the crude oil produced. These are significant facts because they indicate that while control of transportation facilities and great size provide the majors with the economic power to expand at the expense of the independents, the majors have never attempted to run the independents out of the industry. The truth is, the big oil companies have an important financial stake in the existence of the independents.

ON THE one hand, the independent producers and marketers furnish depression insurance. Because of the economic power possessed by the majors, the independents must bear most of the burden of declining demand. Even during a period such as the 1930's when the oil industry was confronted both with a depression and the disovery of the huge East Texas field, most of the majors were able to earn a profit on their overall operations. This was possible because they were taking large profits from the transportation branch while underselling their independent competitors in the refining and marketing branches. In 1938, for example, at least six of the majors had an average loss of 6.7 per cent in marketing. During that same year, the average rate of return to their pipeline companies was 26.5 per cent. Only as long as the majors transport the product of independents is such a situation possible.

Just as the independents provide the majors with insurance against losses in depressions, they also furnish the majors with an excuse for reaping huge profits during periods of short supply. When the twenty major oil companies were asked last year why it was not feasible for them to absorb higher prices of crude oil, at least to the extent that they produced the oil they refined, they said that such a policy would tend to destroy competition by eliminating the non-integrated refiners.

Finally, the existence of a large number of independents allows leading executives to argue that the oil industry is one of the most competitive of American businesses. Moreover, associations of independents are an extremely vociferous pressure group which is generally on the side of the majors in political and economic struggles. The bitterness of the fight which the independents are now waging against the coops can be explained by the fact that for the first time in many years they are faced with a threat to their existence.

Much of the current attack on the oil coops is based on the argument made in March, 1946 by B. A. Hardey, then president of the Independent Petroleum Association of America, before the Senate Committee Investigating Petroleum Resources. His general attitude was that the trend of coop expansion, if allowed to continue, would simply "take us right to Russia." He objected to the coops' ability to borrow money from the farm cooperative banking system. And he was bitter about what he described as a "tax advantage" possessed by the cooperatives. Enemies of coops today have no specific targets, they have merely elaborated upon Mr. Hardey's "right to Russia" argument.

Dr. Ludwig von Mises, author of Part I of the P. I. R. F. study, an observer who is probably as disinterested as Fulton Lewis, Jr., does at least succeed in stating the thesis of those who oppose the cooperative movement in the United States today:

> Only as far as the cooperatives are able to hold their own without the support of tax exemptions, cheap government credit, and other favors can cooperativism be considered as a legitimate method of doing business in a free society.

That thesis deserves our serious consideration because it is the type of argument which, on the surface, is likely to appear fair and reasonable to many people.

Dr. von Mises is one of those economists who believe that an "unhampered" market economy is a prerequisite to a free society. He is also one of those economists who seem to believe that only restrictions imposed by government hamper a market economy. Unfortunately, that is not true. Today in the oil industry, for example, the major oil companies possess enough economic power to decide how much the present consumers of petroleum will contribute to their expansion projects. Even that articulate apologist for American big business, *Fortune*, commenting on the situation, has stated that "capitalism was founded on the principle that new capital outlays would be financed from investment savings in the capital market." Since the war, business has depended upon plowed-back profits to finance about 70 per cent of its plant expansion, new equipment, increased working capital, and so forth, instead of raising it by sale of securities. What this means is that the free market in capital which is one of the bases of the "free society" Dr. von Mises extols does not now exist.

AS FOR the question of tax exemption, Dr. Ettinger has given the answer with surprising candor in Part II of the P. I. R. F. study:

> Actually the implications of the cooperative movement go far beyond the scope of preferential taxation. Many cooperatives do not even claim formal tax exemption today and are satisfied with having their profits treated as savings of their members, taxable only as income of the patron. The cooperatives are among the most aggressive opponents of business as it is today. This has nothing to do with their statements on being for or against free enterprise.

The decision which American consumers must make is whether the cooperative movement is a desirable form of business organization in our society as it is, not whether it is a legitimate method of doing business in a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

society which exists only in the imagination of Dr. von Mises. Today, the major oil companies possess the economic power to determine how the public's funds are to be invested. At the same time, corporate management has refused to accept responsibility for the economic and social effects of its policies. The cooperative movement appears to be the best hope of American consumers that this situation will be changed for the better. When the coop expansion reaches the point where cooperatives begin to compete with the majors, the consumer will have gained a voice in the determination of economic policies in the oil industry for the first time in its history.

The Last of Britain's Empire

BY DAVID C. WILLIAMS

London

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S Point Four proposals have forcefully directed public attention to the colonial empires of our Western European allies. Foremost among them is that long-time target for the self-righteous indignation of Americans, the British Empire.

The empire now consists largely of the British sections of Africa. Four-fifths of Britain's seventy million remaining colonial peoples live there. Its importance is further emphasized by the fact that the rest of Britain's colonies consist largely of islands and coastal settlements scattered broadcast over the world's seaways. Those in the Caribbean area are within sight of self-governing status. Those in South-East Asia may at any time be engulfed by the rising tide of Communism. Africa is to the new British Empire what India was to the last.

There is not and never has been any romance about British Africa. It is a vast rural slum, most of it being jungle, scrub, swamp, or desert. Its peoples are, in the overwhelming majority, hungry, diseased, unskilled, illiterate, and enervated by a climate unsuited for sustained effort. Nor are they even united. They speak many languages, and belong to many tribes and nations.

In this ocean of African peoples, there live a tiny minority of people of British stock, less than 100,000 in all. There are perhaps twice as many Indians and Arabs, providing a large part of what middle class exists. Small as the non-African minorities are, their size and nature have a well-nigh decisive influence on the present status and future prospects of the colonies. Where white people have settled and taken up farming (as in East Africa, particularly Kenya and Northern Rhodesia) they are seeking to establish and perpetuate the South African pattern of life. West Africans are happier, because mosquito-borne diseases long discouraged permanent white settlement. When independence comes, they solemnly propose to erect a monument to that blessed insect.

DAVID C. WILLIAMS, director of the London bureau of the Union for Democratic Action, writes frequently for The Nation *on British affairs.*

Africans bitterly criticize London for not preventing the growth of the settler interest. But it is safe to say that, had it not been for the resistance put up by London (as the principle that the native interest was paramount became more and more accepted at the Colonial Office) the South African way of life would have spread far more widely and rooted itself much more deeply. The worst thing that could happen to the Africans would be the acquisition by the whites, as in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, of governmental power in an independent state or dominion.

But, if this can be conceded as a virtue of rule from London, it is at best a negative virtue. Indeed, British control has had until recently a generally negative character, being largely concerned with maintaining law and order. It did not include to any measurable extent the positive functions of promoting the social, economic, and political development of the peoples. As in India, British rule perpetuated obsolete patterns of life, which would otherwise have crumbled to pieces at the impact of modern civilization. It was not until 1940 that the first real Development and Welfare Act was passed by Parliament and not until 1945, with the advent of the Labor Government, that real work began. Under the act as amended by Labor, a sum of $480 million was provided, to be spent over a ten-year period. This made it possible to set aside a definite sum of money for each colony, so that its government might draw up a long-term plan based not only on the British grant, but also on what it could raise itself from taxes and loans. Colonial revenues were boosted by the levying of income taxes, which many settlers still regard as outright Bolshevism.

Large as the total grant is, in view of Britain's limited resources, it works out at less than a dollar a year for each inhabitant of the colonies. Little can be done in the way of economic development with such limited funds. The tendency has been for colonial governments to concentrate on welfare instead, proposing improvements in medical, educational, and other similar services. Meager as these are, and badly as they are needed, economists were quick to point out that they could not

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be maintained, after the expiration of the ten-year grant, unless the pace of colonial economic developments were sharply accelerated.

AT THE same time, Britain was plunging deeper and deeper into economic crisis. On paper the interests of Britain in more adequate supplies from non-dollar sources, and in the economic development of British Africa, seemed usefully to converge. The biggest challenge to British imperial statesmanship then presented itself—to convince the colonial peoples that this mutual interest was genuine, and could be expanded with two-way cooperation and without exploitation.

Herbert Morrison, opening the Africa Conference in London, put it this way: "It is no longer a question of capitalist exploitation or imperialism," he told the assembled representatives of African legislatures. "It is one of placing at the disposal of the colonial territories the resources and experience which we in Britain have gained, and achieving the greatest possible rate of social and economic advancement. . . . Be lively, progressive-minded, energetic in the common cause."

Some Africans take a dim view of all this. Their alarm is increased by the tendency of British Ministers (due perhaps to what Mr. Morrison described as "a growing political problem in convincing our electorate, which has to put up the resources, that the sacrifice is worthwhile") to emphasize the advantages to Britain of investment in Africa, and to mention only as an afterthought the possible benefits to the African peoples. These Africans see in the new British approach only the threat of "super-exploitation" and declare that Africa is to be "the last line of defense of the disintegrating British Empire."

Both British politicians and indignant Africans like at times to talk as if British Africa were some sort of treasure chest, which had only to be unlocked for boundless riches to pour out. An influential body of expert opinion, headed by *The Economist*, has taken a sharply contrary view. They emphasize the backwardness of Africa, and the colossal investments required to make it productive. There are immense distances served by inadequate transport, or none at all. Farms and mines must be equipped, at great expense, with machinery brought from thousands of miles away. Skilled labor—often, indeed, any labor at all—is lacking. A cold-blooded calculation of costs and returns, *The Economist* argues, leads to the inevitable conclusion that Britain cannot afford any substantial investment in Africa.

It must be said that experience so far is on the side of *The Economist*. The vast peanut-raising scheme was launched three years ago with a mighty blare of trumpets. To its sponsor, John Strachey, it was the answer to Britain's shortage of oils and fats; to fearful Africans, it was a proposal to pillage their continent. Instead, it has turned out to be a bitter and heart-breaking struggle against bush, drought, and stone-hard ground. With each month, the expenses involved mount to further staggering heights, and the expected return to Britain in oils and fats diminishes. It is becoming more and more apparent that Africa will yield her hidden wealth only at tremendous cost in work, materials, and money. The task is so great that, in the present-day world, only the United States has the means to tackle it.

In any circumstances, the cooperation of the Africans themselves is essential to progress. Labor is determined to achieve this. The Colonial Secretary, Arthur Creech-Jones, was head of the Colonial Bureau of the Fabian Society before he took office. As such, it was his business to harry Conservatives colonial secretaries in Parliament; now the Tories call him "a poacher turned gamekeeper." Real political progress has been made. The Africa Conference itself was evidence of that. It was made up of delegates chosen by the colonial legislatures from their own membership. Ten years ago, a conference called on such a basis would have been overwhelmingly white. This time it was just as overwhelmingly black. Many Africans are now sitting in colonial legislatures. Some are nominated by the governors, some chosen by the chiefs, but others are actually elected. Some are "yes-men," but by no means all. Visible evidence of this was the presence at the Africa Conference of Dr. Danquah, a leader of last year's riots on the Gold Coast.

At best, however, a Labor Government cannot in good conscience administer an empire. Alone among the European powers who dominate Africa, Britain has declared ultimate independence as her policy. In West Africa, where there is no permanent white settlement, that prospect is by no means remote. Significantly, there are hundreds of vacancies in the West African civil service for which there are no British applicants, and many British experts currently employed in West African colonies, seeing (as they say) no future there, are applying for transfer to the East African colonies. If British rule in East Africa ended tomorrow, the settlers would take over. The East African peoples have a long way to go before they can be certain of taking power for themselves in an independent state. Some sort of trusteeship is essential, although many Americans would undoubtedly prefer international rule to the present British monopoly of power.

WHO will succeed to the power now steadily slipping from British hands? It is fashionable to see Communists everywhere nowadays, and they have indeed done some effective missionary work among the 3,000 Africans studying in London, largely at the expense of the Colonial Office. But the more such students are absorbed in Communist doctrine, the more they tend to lose touch with the intensely conservative masses of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

African people. Far more effective are the nationalist demagogues, like Bustamente in Jamaica, who arise so inevitably among depressed peoples. The danger at present is not Communism, but dictatorships on the classic Latin American lines.

The best prescription against both Communism and nationalist dictatorships is economic development so designed as to accomplish two important purposes—to give the educated minority of Africans opportunity to develop and apply their talents, and to effect some perceptible improvement in the grinding poverty which is the daily lot of millions of African peasants. Much depends on the manner in which Americans approach the responsibilities which will inevitably fall upon them. Economic development of the wrong sort will give the Communists—for the first time—a real opportunity. Economic development on sound democratic lines will give British Africa the essential basis for responsible self-government. It is not enough nowadays to mourn the passage of that ideal scapegoat, the British Empire. We must think hard how we can, in our relations to these dependent peoples, do better ourselves.

Liberty on the American Campus

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

II. Conditional Freedom

London

I TURN now from the enumeration of concrete instances of restrictive practices to certain generally prevalent conditions which seem to limit the freedom of college and university teachers in the United States. I admit, first, that many exceptions are made, especially in the case of distinguished and older men; and I admit, second, that the size and character of American universities often prevent protective action until it is too late. I admit, third, that not a few young academic radicals are difficult people, with an appetite for martyrdom and exhibitionism, and that they sometimes imagine suspicions and prohibitions which in fact are wholly absent. Yet, subject to all this, I think the following generalizations would be found to have far-reaching application:

1. An academic career will be difficult, and may be impossible, for any young man or woman who is known to be a member of the Communist Party.

2. Though less difficult, it is still not easy to take up a stand sympathetic to Soviet Russia. Nor is it easy for a teacher to be fundamentally critical of the American "way of life." Any teacher who supported the recent Cultural and Scientific Conference in New York would work under censorious watchfulness.

3. It is unwise to write books or articles on issues about which there are deep divisions of opinion, unless the writer refuses to take sides or accepts the orthodox view.

4. It is important not to associate too freely with groups outside the university which are regarded as dangerous. Even support of Henry Wallace with any vigor is considered "unsound."

5. Dangerous opinions involve risks in inverse proportion to the teacher's status. A middle-aged professor may do with impunity what a young instructor may not do without jeopardizing his chance of promotion or even his position itself.

6. A considerable number of teachers refrain from activity they want to undertake lest it bring them into unfavorable notice.

7. There is a good deal of what I may term academic espionage, followed by repression of those supposedly offensive to the academic authorities or the press.

8. The operations of the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities and similar bodies act as a pre-natal censor upon many teachers, who suffer a real sense of frustration as a result. This atmosphere is particularly harmful to the more sensitive and imaginative among the younger teachers.

9. Great care is taken, in drawing up lists of recommended reading, to make it clear that the teacher does not necessarily approve books by left writers which have been the subject of acute controversy.

10. The teacher who does not yet have tenure must avoid participation in activities which lead to him being regarded as a "trouble maker" by his president or by members of the faculty or administration who have influence with the president.

11. A sorry blow has been struck at academic freedom by ex-Communists, ex-Trotskyists, and ex-fellow-travelers on the faculties of universities. They are now so anxious to blot out the memory of their past careers that many of them have themselves become directly or indirectly inquisitors, or they write books or articles which not only deny all their previous work but attack those with whom they were previously associated.

12. Important figures in the academic world who were associated with the war effort have become so enamored of their glimpse of the "inside" workings of government that they lend themselves to the defense of

---

HAROLD J. LASKI'S series of articles (Nation, *June 25, July 2, July 9, August 13*) *based on a recent trip to the United States, is concluded with this installment.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

transactions which they would have regarded with abhorrence before America's entrance into the war. This is especially true of those who had some connection with one or another of the "America First" movements.

13. The invasion of privacy by the more raucous weeklies and gossip mongers acts as a deterrent to free utterance in a number of universities. Here, it is necessary to say that extreme left and extreme right are alike offenders. There is, moreover, reason to suppose that certain agencies of the federal government are willing privately to assist in organizing hints and suggestions intended to undermine the standing of professors who might influence public opinion.

14. Perhaps the most subtle way in which academic freedom is undermined is by a big publishing organization, or some corporation with large funds at its disposal, offering a promising young scholar the chance of doing work on its behalf at a salary rate far beyond anything he could have normally expected. He is then swiftly led into adopting a standard of living he can only maintain by going on with this kind of work. Next he insensibly comes to accept the criteria of his employers; and he justifies himself to himself by his attacks on the works of other scholars who do not accept those criteria. Involved in his experience, moreover, is the inescapable temptation to urge friends and colleagues to be "realistic" and follow his example.

15. The final generalization I venture to make is about the danger to academic freedom that arises when the scholar becomes the intimate of the university administration and agrees to assist in preparing schemes of reorganization intended, as he is assured, to relax the ideological tensions which strain the university's internal and external relations. He then usually becomes a party to or author of some report likely to record the view that, considered from a high enough eminence, all ideological differences may be resolved through development of a curriculum in which the tensions are rapidly dismissed or find no place; and this suggestion may be fortified by a long disquisition on the undesirability of extending education at the highest level to any but the relatively small élite able to profit from it. The report is then published with a salvo of academic and other artillery, and the scholar is taken into final captivity by being asked to go around the country explaining its virtues. He becomes, consciously or unconsciously, the prisoner of the report. If consciously, since he cannot disavow what is partly his handiwork, he becomes a cynic; if unconsciously, he becomes not merely a professor but an "educator," whose obvious destiny is to evolve into a college president.

It would, of course, be foolish to suppose that a university could remain free from the strains and stresses of a world in crisis. But for the teacher who feels them deeply, who makes anxious inquiry about their meaning, and who knows that learning and life are separated only to their common detriment, the strains are intensified by what I may term the atomization of American universities. This is caused by a number of factors.

ONE is the weakness of professorial trade-unionism; there is no real integration of academic power. One is the fact that very few teachers have any part in the making of final university policy, which is in the hands of the president, his confidants, and the trustees. Another is the failure, especially in the larger American institutions, to develop a genuine organic relation between the university's disparate parts. There is too little cross-fertilization of disciplines, with a consequent absence of widespread knowledge about the general problems the university is facing. Few teachers realize that these general problems are their problems. If they are in the undergraduate division, they are not concerned with the professional schools; if they are in one professional school, the issues in another are not their business. Promotions are a matter between the administration and a particular department; appointments may rest with an ad hoc committee which reports to the president—who, if he approves, forwards its recommendations to the trustees—or with some professors on whose advice the president is likely to act. Few American universities knit their teachers together to act with concerted thought, both to advance it in well-being and to safeguard it from danger. The university's governance deprives it of the democratic habit of mind; and freedom for the teacher comes to mean that, being relieved from the responsible burden of policy-making at the top level, he may roam about his own subject as he pleases so long as his wanderings do not bring the university into difficulties with those upon whom it relies for its chance to expand or survive.

The result, above all, in a critical time like the present, is a threat to academic freedom, since freedom is so closely linked with the teacher's right to leave his ivory tower and relate his specialism with life. To know life he must face it, and to face it fearlessly he must with rare exceptions know that alongside him are men who will support with all their strength his right to be unafraid.

Nothing is more dangerous in academic life than a situation where teachers, whose function is the discovery of new knowledge and the communication of the insight they have wrested from inquiry, stand uncertain whether to speak at all, fearing the censure of those who at the moment are able to define the acceptance *mores* of a community. This right to speak fearlessly is jeopardized in American universities by the present climate of opinion. There is an urgent need to organize conditions in which the teacher will be ready to announce his beliefs at any cost.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY IN LONDON

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

LAUGHING with the opposition is still good form in Great Britain—and I was very much taken with a critique of the style of three Conservative speakers by J. P. W. Mallalieu, a Labor M. P., in the *Tribune*, pro-Labor weekly. Here are some excerpts:

The Opposition did better in the bulk-buying debate, I thought, than they have done in any previous debate except the first debate on steel nationalization—when Sir Andrew Duncan made one of the great speeches of this Parliament.

Their three main speakers were Oliver Lyttelton, David Eccles, and Walter Fletcher. . . .

I am not normally a fan of Lyttelton—as a performer in the House. Though he nearly always speaks from detailed knowledge and experience, he does not often show imagination. Sherlock Holmes seeing a drop of water would at once deduce the Atlantic Ocean. But I doubt that Lyttelton faced with a tree could ever deduce a wood. Though he is witty his wit is labored. Though in both industry and politics he has attained eminence he can be strangely undignified. Indeed, some of his interjections into other people's speeches could not be surpassed in fatuity even by the two Labor members whose contributions cause most embarrassment to the Government benches.

In this debate, however, he left his heavy-handedness at home and, for once, his speech sounded at least as well as it read.

David Eccles's style, in the past, has also been a little labored. . . . Latterly [it] has become more direct and is well spiced with irony. For example, in this debate, he deliberately slipped into a caricature of his own pedagogic manner and said: "Suppose—my honorable friends will forgive me for a wild assumption, but I wish to clear the ground for my main argument—that we had competent and efficient Socialist Ministers. . . ." Everyone enjoyed that. . . .

Then Walter Fletcher. He is heavyweight, twinkling-eyed, fruity. He is a "natural" who uses every vice and virtue he possesses to the best advantage, but never adopts either a vice or a virtue which is not in the character. He turns a phrase neatly, but without malice. . . . When he loses his place in his notes he quickly apologizes that he now needs three spectacles—one for distance, one for reading, and, since the Minister of Food has been in charge, one for feeding as well. . . .

HAVING PAID HIS RESPECTS to the style of the Opposition speakers, Mr. Mallalieu addressed himself to their arguments, which he found far less effective. As it happened, it was the latter part of this debate that I heard on the evening that I visited the House, and it seemed to me that an impartial observer would have given John Strachey and George Strauss (for the Government) the victory on points that they won when the House divided. I too enjoyed Walter Fletcher—but I thought his arguments surprisingly weak. As Mallalieu pointed out, "on the main contention of the Opposition that when prices are falling you must not fix prices too high or too rigidly, the Government were agreed," and "Strachey indeed was able to show that he had warned the House of this long before the present debate and had prepared bulk purchase agreements which safeguarded us against prices fixed rigidly at a high level when world prices were falling." There was, or seemed to be—and this was what surprised me—no disagreement on the advantages of bulk purchasing. The debate, said Mr. Mallalieu, "might have passed off amid expressions of good will and esteem." What soured it was "the obvious discrepancy between what Tories say in the country and what they say in the House." "Not one of the main Tory speakers in this debate argued [against bulk-purchase] but instead agreed that in a period of rising prices, i.e. virtually throughout the past four years, bulk purchase had brought great advantage to Britain." Yet outside the House, "not merely now when prices are beginning to fall, but throughout the past four years while they have been rising steadily, Tory politicians, papers, and Central Office propaganda have attacked the whole principle of bulk-buying."

I think this episode provides a particularly good example of the pattern of behavior to which, putting it kindly, the Tories have been reduced: They shout from the housetops that the Labor Government is taking Britain straight to ruin—a shout which the conservative press in the United States amplifies and broadcasts with great gusto—and then it turns out that the remedy *they* propose is merely to do a little less of the same thing.

And sometimes a little more! To me the most intriguing item in the Conservative Party program, as it was reported here some weeks ago, was the promise that they would provide free medicines even to those who have chosen not to take part in the National Health Service.

THE TORIES scored a minor triumph recently in the Commons when Brendan Bracken, in an attack on the Central Office of Information was able to report that Mr. H. Macmillan had told him of a letter sent to Macmillan's firm by the copyright section of the C. O. I. which read as follows:

The above-named publishers are interested in the Polish language rights for "Gulliver's Travels" by J. Swift. If the rights are still available can you please let me have a reading copy and your terms for this firm?

Mr. Bracken said that he would have thought that there was no educated person save a copyright officer in the C. O. I. unaware that Swift had been dead for 200 years. Herbert Morrison, for Labor, conceded that "Jonathan Swift is a fair cop. I put my hands up unless some later information comes." There was (Laughter) all around, but Mr. Bracken's motion to reduce the appropriation was defeated.

Incidentally, in defending the C. O. I. another Labor member, Mr. Wyatt, said that the diphtheria campaign alone over eight years had produced a drop in notified cases from 45,000 to 8,000 a year, which saved the taxpayer £2,000,000 a year on hospital treatment as well as releasing 2,500 nurses.

THE *DAILY MIRROR* has the largest circulation of any paper in Britain (or in the world for that matter), 3,700,000. For that reason, and because it is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a tabloid and slanted toward "the masses" one inevitably compares it with the *Daily News* here. But the differences far outweigh the likeness between them. The sensationalism of the *Mirror* is rather mild beside that of the *News*. That goes almost without saying. The great contrast, however, lies in the editorial policies of the two papers. I needn't describe the policy of the *News*. That of the *Mirror* is not openly pro-Labor but very friendly, and therefore, as a Labor M. P. pointed out, very helpful.

IN THE REST ROOM of a hospital I visited, each square of toilet paper was inscribed with this device: (across the top) London County Council and (across the bottom) Now Wash Your Hands, Please.

ANNIVERSARY: I found this item in the Manchester *Guardian* of May 27:

> Two hundred and seventy years ago today was passed one of the most momentous measures ever placed on the statute-book—the Habeas Corpus Act, prohibiting the imprisonment of any British subject without trial. Opinion in Parliament was acutely divided, and, if Bishop Burnet is to be believed, the final passing of the Act was accomplished only by a fraud. In the division in the House of Lords Lord Grey and Lord North were named as tellers. Grey was not very attentive to his duty, and when a very fat lord signified his assent North counted him as ten—jestingly at first, but allowing the figure to stand when he saw Grey had not noticed the misreckoning. But for that the Opposition would have had it. As division lists were not published in those days the accuracy of Burnet's story cannot be tested.

Anyway, it's a good story over which we can laugh wholeheartedly with the Opposition.

MARSHALL AID: I went to the Fabian Society bookstore to get some pamphlets. Afterwards, by dint of asking directions three or four times, I got to the Labor Party bookstore at Transport House in Smith Square which is only a few minutes, but several turnings, away. While I was there I heard the clerk giving another customer directions for getting to the Fabian Society bookstore. The other customer, a woman, walked out at the same time I did, wearing the dazed look of a person who has just been given all-too-minute directions. Since I was going back the way I had come, I offered to direct her. She said that she had lived in London all her life but that she wasn't familiar with this part of town. When we parted she thanked me for my aid. I didn't tell her that my name was Marshall.

A LONDONER remarked that when he was in New York he liked to go into Woolworth's because it reminded him of London.

Decline and Fall

A SEA CHANGE. By Nigel Dennis. Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.50.

"A SEA CHANGE" is a new version of the old American story of facile success turning, all unexpectedly, into apples of Sodom. The decline and fall of Max Divver is a parable about what happens to a bright and confused young man, dedicated to the service of the bitch goddess, who jumps easily, without passion and without self-knowledge, on the convenient bandwagon. That he is technically on the side of the angels, and that the bandwagon on which he perches so guiltily is that of the liberal press merely intensify the Aristotelian reversal of his fortunes.

There are two sea changes in this novel, both strange and neither rich: Divver's inglorious collapse and the painful maturing of Jimmie Morgan, who observes his fall. Divver is a liberal without conviction. If the Hearst press had been intellectually *chic* in the circles in which he moved he might have become a successful Hearst writer. Instead, as foreign correspondent for a liberal weekly he is tormented by misgivings about the views to which he subscribes (he really admires strong men who *get things done* and entertains anti-Semitic feelings he has never dared to explore), by the inadequacies of his sexual and emotional life (the account of his two marriages contains the best satirical writing in the book), and by all the anxieties to which any man of only nominal good will and average guilt is subject. In the Poland of the summer of 1939 his façade cracks. He is easily weaned onto a vague neo-fascism by an American engineer, a synthetic strong man who remains to collaborate with the Nazis. Ultimately the engineer kills him—a death ungraceful and meaningless, although celebrated by the liberal weekly with a special issue in which he is hailed as one of the first American martyrs to fascism.

This tumult, set down in the form of a rapid-fire and satirical adventure story, is observed by Jimmie Morgan, a disenchanted young man whose mother owns the paper for which Divver writes. On this level the book belongs to the long history of novels about sensitive adolescents who slowly attain the beginnings of wisdom. The central fact of life mastered by Jimmy Morgan, after sex and the shattering of idols and in the presence of general European collapse, is the awareness that he is "certain of nothing except that he was totally up-ended in a chaos that was incomprehensible, flabbergasting, and devoid of anything that might be called an idea or a principle—a chaos entirely of his own choosing." So far as his one-time hero, Divver, is concerned he has passed from idolatry to compassion, a fairly universal process as the emotions mature.

"A Sea Change" is deft and often very funny. Its malice and wit are effortless. Its strangely unpleasant picture of a certain level of Manhattan intellectual society sounds as if it were the result of extensive experience, although it never degenerates into the mere *roman à clef* or into simple vituperation. Mary McCarthy's "The Oasis" and Evelyn Waugh's "The Loved One" are gauche beside it. Mr. Dennis's is largely a moral imagination, and it is this that gives his writing an altogether convincing urgency. The bandwagon is the villain of this piece. Once cast out of the *papier-mâché* tower of Manhattan liberalism into the lunacies of the Polish Corridor, Max Divver falls apart. On Morgan, an instinctual creature, who finds the society around his mother's magazine a crashing bore, the experience bestows a dreary independence. The final wisdom in this novel is neither startling nor reassuring: The wages of sin—here the sin of identifying oneself with a political position solely because it is fashionable at the moment, of taking action without conviction—is death.

ERNEST JONES

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Art of Eisenstein

FILM FORM. By Sergei Eisenstein. Edited and translated by Jay Leyda. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $4.50.

"WE CAME," wrote Eisenstein of the early days of Soviet cinema, "like bedouins or goldseekers to a place with unimaginably great possibilities." But these were bedouins sponsored by a socialist state and goldseekers with no commercial ambitions. By historical accident, a group of workers entirely unfamiliar with the cinema had this new art form thrown open to them for improvisation and experiment. Having passed the original Soviet test of being "for" the revolution, they were given a free hand. The result was a transformation of film technique and subject matter which, while it has had a tremendous influence on Western movie-making, has not yet been thoroughly absorbed or even particularly understood. Montage, as Eisenstein envisioned it, was not only a technique of bold cutting placed at the service of a film story, but was inseparable from the story; ultimately, it *was* the story. Employing contrasts of meter, rhythm, tone, and overtone, montage produced the effects of the film narrative, introducing something of the quality of surrealism onto the screen.

Despite his announced desire to "restore emotional fullness to the intellectual process," however, Eisenstein was perhaps the most confirmed formalist and cerebrate ever to work in the cinema. His films demand the kind of analysis that the "new critics" have been directing at poetic texts. He was the metaphysical poet of the movie camera, employing as symbols movement, pace, and lighting. But clearly his native tools were to be found in the film studio, not at the writing desk. Where his films reveal great clarity of structure and deliberateness of detail, his written language is opaque, percussive, without visible form. For the most part they are jottings in a jargon which seems to hold passionate meaning for him, but which never quite sets up communication with the reader. Eisenstein's enthusiasm is always several jumps ahead of his language, and one is sometimes infected with his enthusiasm without ever learning its cause.

A penchant for abstract terminology was unhappily reinforced by the slogans of the Marxian dialectic that floated conveniently in the Soviet cultural atmosphere. Essentially, though, Eisenstein's unformulated world-view was internationalist, eclectic, and libertarian. However much he might write of the dialectic approach to film, he could not himself stick to a logical sequence, without jumping off in all directions at once and touching every national literature and every national art. He found more stimulus for his film experiments in Flaubert, Dickens, and Griffith than he did in Russian artists. The current purge of "rootless cosmopolitans" would surely have included Eisenstein as one of its victims, were he alive and available. And this would only have added another humiliation to his last years, during which one projected work after another failed to materialize, or was abandoned midway, or (most painful) was refused exhibition when completed. In those years, Eisenstein, whose special talents lay in discovering the visual correlatives of social conflict and whose instinctive affinity led him to contemporary material and the idea of the mass as hero, had been set to work by the "socialist realists" at constructing a medieval war pageant and a cinematic rehabilitation of the supreme despot of Russian history.

Unconsciously, "Film Form" sketches in the main lines of Eisenstein's self-portrait, one which neither contradicts nor precisely confirms what we had been led to expect from the memoirs which have appeared since his death on February 10, 1948. From this rough sketch, Eisenstein emerges as an irrepressible aesthete, with an eccentrically stocked mind, smug and prankish like any spoiled son. Although an aesthete, he is hardly subtle and never delicate, tentative, or probing. His primary traits are originality, strength, and assurance. There is a dominating crudity in his style as writer as well as movie maker, which equips him for scenes of violence and pageantry, and directs him toward the discovery of striking and substantial, though always idiosyncratic, image-symbols of social change.

He was obsessed with the notion of *sudden* change. His first experiments with abstract realism on the stage consisted of a gesture expanded into gymnastics, rage expressed through a somersault, exaltation through a *salto-mortale*. ("The grotesque of this style permitted leaps from one type of expression to another, as well as unexpected interweavings of the two expressions.") His chapter on the Japanese Kabuki theater is entitled, typically, The Unexpected. Eisenstein admired the Japanese stage technique of dropping a curtain to permit the player to reappear with a new mask which is the new emotion. In much of his film work, he searched for a cinematic technique to match the ideogram of Japanese writing and the pictorial art to which it is related. Plasticity, the mild and gradual nuances of the human face and body, did not interest him. Even when his faces are static, they produce an effect of repressed violence.

While Eisenstein's work with montage and masses has expanded the range of film expression, it represents, I think, not a potentially fertile direction of movie making, but only the indispensable stretching of the muscles to test the elastic strength of the film art. My own feeling is that the best movies of the future will take an opposite tack: toward a more documentary realism and toward a more subtle individualism. NATHAN GLICK

Old Patterns, New Forms

TECHNOLOGY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. Edited by William F. Ogburn. The University of Chicago Press. $4.

THIS collection of papers is not likely to make anyone feel more optimistic about the chances for world peace. In one of them William T. R. Fox remarks somewhat ruefully that the social scientist does not increase his popularity when he declares that the maximum possible political adaptation to the conditions created by the existence of the atomic bomb is less than the minimum adaptation which the newly socially conscious atomic scientists consider necessary. Sometimes change is so radical that historical parallels no longer apply. Nevertheless, it is always a better bet that men will react more or less as they have before in similar situations, than that they will react differently.

Most of the contributors to this symposium see old patterns repeating them-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

selves in new forms, and they do not hold out too much hope that we can escape from the patterns which have always led to war in the past. They recognize that the isolationist sentiment which prevailed in the United States after World War I has been largely replaced by a kind of internationalism; this does not necessarily mean, however, that public opinion in this country today is any nearer to the realities of international power politics than it was thirty years ago.

Technological changes have made some important differences in international relations. One of the most important, as Professor Ogburn sees the situation, is to increase the preponderant force of the great powers, and decrease the military significance of smaller countries. The net effect is to increase the tendency toward bi-polarity—groupings around the two strongest nations. Moreover, the present range of airplanes widens the effective military spheres of the great powers: specifically, the military spheres of the United States and Soviet Russia overlap in Western Europe.

In resources and mechanical energy production, the U. S. A. has a tremendous advantage over the U. S. S. R. But the resources and production of Western Europe, as shown in the illuminating tables offered by Abbott Payson Usher, would come close to evening the balance. The immediately available resources and production of all of the rest of the world are almost negligible, and this explains the concentration of world attention on Europe.

Although the book went to press before announcement of the North Atlantic Pact, the possibilities and dangers of the pact are clearly foreshadowed. Discussing the use of force and the threat of force to support peace, Quincy Wright says: "Large dissident groups, instead of submitting, may hasten their revolt against the law if the strengthening of the force behind the law, while considerable, is not overwhelming." He notes that the odds on the side of police power within a nation may be thousands or millions to one, which is very different from odds of even three or four to one among nations—regardless of whether the police power is exercised inside or outside of a League of Nations or the United Nations.

Putting this together with Bernard Brodie's analysis of the military significance of the atomic bomb, now and later, it becomes fairly obvious that the key to the success of the Atlantic Pact in maintaining peace is the United States' monopoly of atomic bombs. The question is whether this monopoly makes the United States strong enough for the present so that Russia will not dare go to war while Western Europe is rearming. No great power has ever submitted willingly to such a shift in the balance of power; if the balance is even enough today, Russia will presumably not submit. Most of the authors would certainly subscribe to the notion that the pact is a "calculated risk."

They do not neglect the potency of ideas and the spread of ideas, although the orientation remains chiefly in terms of power. Robert Leigh has an excellent article on mass communications. Usher, in his presentation of mechanical power and production resources, brilliantly attacks the evils of nationalism and "self-determination" in the modern world. "Liberty," he writes, "cannot be achieved for anyone by the progressive segregation of minorities." No matter how nobly conceived, the Balkanization of Europe promoted by Woodrow Wilson was clearly wrong. This conclusion is reinforced by Hornell Hart's careful exposition of the fact that through recorded history technological advances have meant increase in the size of nations and empires, despite all the cultural differences which have tended to preserve smaller groups.

There are considerable differences of opinion among the writers represented in the book, and the studies are far from completely coordinated, but they all lead to the conclusion that the world does not change overnight, and that military potential is still more important than anything else in international relations. The limit of optimism does not go much beyond this statement by Mr. Fox:

"Neither total war nor total peace is inevitable, nor does this exhaust the range of possibilities. There is a third eventuality, protracted bad relations, ultimately perhaps followed by slow improvement."

These historians and social scientists are perhaps a little put out by the recent incursions of a lot of amateurs into their field, and so perhaps a little too much inclined to insist on predicting the future from the past. Nevertheless, they write soberly, and with careful documentation. "Technology and International Relations" is fairly hard reading. It is also worth reading.

CHARLES E. NOYES

Mr. Poe and Others

THE HISTRIONIC MR. POE. By N. Bryllion Fagin. The Johns Hopkins Press. $4.

BULWER-LYTTON. By the Earl of Lytton. Alan Swallow. $2.

ARNOLD BENNETT. By Walter Allen. Alan Swallow. $2.

RUDYARD KIPLING. By Rupert Croft-Cooke. Alan Swallow. $2.

EDGAR ALLAN POE is on the one hand the most widely read of America's classic authors, and on the other hand the subject of a prodigious amount of literary criticism. But the shake of recognition has never joined these hands. The common reader is generally ignorant of Poe's scholarly standing, and the experts are contemptuous of their darling's public.

N. Bryllion Fagin is an expert, and his new book does nothing to mend the break. "The Histrionic Mr. Poe" is a frankly revisionist study in the scholarly tradition. Mr. Fagin argues that the mystery of Poe's life and the attraction of his works are largely explained by Poe's theatrical associations. These associations, Poe's heritage, friendships, theatrical reviews, and dramatic works, Mr. Fagin recounts with all the loving detail of the play-bill historian. The mass of information, once assembled, throws little light on the amorous and bibulous complexities of Poe's strange life. The assertion that Poe was always acting, though possibly true, merely begs a question which in the last analysis is psychological. But Mr. Fagin is at his convincing and entertaining best in demonstrating Poe's use of theatrical effect and dramatic construction in the poems and stories. And, accordingly, Mr. Fagin goes a long way toward a rational explanation of what is usually called Poe's "strange gift" or "magic touch."

No such sleuthing is called for in the English Novelist Series. This series of short, balanced critical and biographical sketches is designed for the serious,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

though not the scholarly reader. With one exception, the present instalment of three volumes merits his attention, and comes up to the high level of the earlier books. The grievous aberration is the Earl of Lytton's stuffy, moralizing life of "my grandfather," Bulwer-Lytton. Lord Lytton bores with obscure family quarrels, confuses with inconsequential love affairs, and irritates with uncritical applause for Bulwer-Lytton's political career and literary production. However, lax generosity, though it is tempting, does not figure in Walter Allen's skilful arrangement of the difficult tour through the world and work of Arnold Bennett. Mr. Allen allows that Bennett was "in the most blatant sense a success." He admits the inferiority of the later novels, the insolence of Bennett's criticism, and the fulsomeness of his style. But he firmly insists on Bennett's importance as a bearer of the French naturalistic tradition, and as the author of one superb novel, "The Old Wives' Tale."

Similar control is evident in Rupert Croft-Cooke's "Rudyard Kipling." Mr. Croft-Cooke is enthusiastic over Kipling's abilities as a teller of tales, lucid and critical in the analysis of Kipling's straight-from-the-horse's-mouth style, and effective in demonstrating Kipling's magnificent respect for the law, imperial and jungle alike. Furthermore, he resolutely defends Kipling, as a literary man, from the attacks of the anti-imperialists. Mr. Croft-Cooke is, of course, on solid ground in distinguishing between literary merit and political taste. Yet Kipling, in an interesting way, is an exception to the rule that art and politics don't mix. For Kipling's singular admiration for the cool reliability of the imperial involves a want of moral sensibility which, though negligible in the animal world of "Kim" and "The Jungle Book," is painfully evident in a human world where the light sometimes fails.

JOSEPH KRAFT

Book Mss. Welcomed

Every author delights in a best seller, but even a book with a limited audience can prove profitable when expertly promoted. We publish books of every classification; submit your ms. now, or write Dept. C for free literature.

VANTAGE PRESS

35 So. William St., New York 4

Ernst Cassirer

THE PHILOSOPHY OF ERNST CASSIRER. Edited by Paul Arthur Schilpp. Library of Living Philosophers. $6.

THIS volume is the sixth in a series originally planned and thus far carried through with heroic energy by Professor Schilpp of Northwestern University. The others have dealt, respectively, with Dewey, Santayana, Whitehead, Moore, and Russell. In each, about twenty or twenty-five contributors discuss various phases of the philosopher's thought, and the philosopher, if possible, writes a reply. Cassirer died in 1945, before the essays could be assembled, but he is represented by a characteristic article reproduced in translation. From the beginning the editor has given contributors great latitude in the matter of length and content. So far as self-discipline is concerned, the results have not always justified his generosity. Yet all in all, despite the inevitable unevenness of performance in a large enterprise, this series has contributed greatly to the literature of contemporary philosophy.

The portrait that emerges from the present volume is of a rare human being and a scholar of incredible breadth. Cassirer was one of the great historians of ideas. The catholicity of his achievement reflects the fact that in his intellectual make-up he stood, as James Gutmann says, "in many traditions," especially "in the great tradition of philosophic humanism." This is entirely consistent with the view that his primary concern was "method" (Harry Slochower), and with the interpretation of his systematic outlook as a "philosophical anthropology" (David Bidney). For Cassirer's humanism, John H. Randall, Jr., points out, was of the kind that defies "the conventional opposition between the humanist and the scientist."

Cassirer's principal single inspiration was Kant. William H. Werkmeister and Fritz Kaufmann probe the extent of his agreement with the neo-Kantians, by whom he was originally taught. That he was no slavish devotee of Kant or anyone else, and that his own appropriation of Kant turned into an original viewpoint, does not minimize the debt, as Cassirer himself was free to admit. Kant had conceived the knowing-activity not as a struggle to correlate human ideas with an existing order of nature but rather as the very means by which that order is determined. The laws of nature are to be found in the structure of human judgment, in the logic or critique of reason. Cassirer, first of all, while adopting the Kantian theme of the constructive character of knowing, broadens this emphasis, which had implied the primacy of science, to include other forms of "knowing"—language, myth, art, religion. All these he conceives as ways of constructing a world. Secondly, he profits from Hegel and introduces a historical and social dimension into this process of construction or objectification. Thus, as he puts it, Kant's critique of reason (or logic of knowing) is transformed into "the critique of culture," the analysis of the most fundamental expressions of the human spirit.

These avenues by which men historically and culturally, and hence individually, have "expressed" themselves Cassirer calls "symbolic forms." Man is essentially a symbolizing and symbol-making animal. Cassirer thought of language, myth, art, and science sometimes as "perspectives" or "points of view," sometimes as "positings," sometimes as "mental activities." Several contributors concern themselves with one or another aspect of the theory of symbolic forms (Robert S. Hartman, Folke Leander, M. F. Ashley Montagu, Susanne K. Langer, Wilbur M. Urban), and there is hardly an essay into which it does not enter as a unifying agent. Strangely enough, no one considers it important carefully to distinguish or reconcile Cassirer's different versions of his theory. Cassirer further oscillated between an interpretation of the symbolic forms as all parallel and equally significant, and an interpretation of these

BOOKS OF ALL KINDS FROM THE USSR

Just Arrived! Novel of the Year!

"STORM", by ILYA EHRENBURG

In English. 800 pp., $2.50

Soviet Records, Handicrafts, Sheet Music

Ask for Complete Catalogue "P-49"

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.

55 W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19 MU 8-2660

STOCKBRIDGE SCHOOL

In the Berkshires

An intercultural, co-ed Junior High and High School. College preparatory; special attention to languages, social and natural sciences. Small classes in cultural and manual arts. *Information:*

Hans K. Maeder, Director

Stockbridge School Interlaken, Mass.

N. Y. address: 306 East 84th St., N. Y. 0.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

forms as the historical unfolding of a hierarchy, from myth to science, that defines progress. The lurking conviction that science represents the apex of human achievement and mathematical physics the apex of all knowledge crops out persistently in Cassirer.

Cassirer's studies in the history and methodology of the sciences are discussed by Felix Kaufmann, Dimitry Gawronsky, Harold R. Smart, Kurt Lewin, and I. K. Stephens. Cassirer saw the growth of science as marked by a shift of emphasis from concepts about "things" or "substances" to concepts about "functions" or "relations." This distinction he used as a guiding principle in many contexts. He repeatedly warns, for example, against an interpretation of language in substantial rather than in functional terms. Language, he says in the essay reprinted in this volume, must be understood not as "an existing thing" or "as a substantial medium which interposes itself between man and the reality surrounding him" but in terms "of what it really does."

Piety toward Cassirer does not interfere with some major criticisms. J. H. Randall, Jr., calls attention to important omissions and limitations in his approach to history and the history of ideas. Helmut Kuhn and William C. Swabey attack certain implications of his idealism. David Bidney finds that he "reduces the category of nature to that of culture" and is left with an unaccountable plurality of discrete symbolical worlds. Wilbur M. Urban believes that his philosophy of symbolism fails to explain and account for the language of metaphysics. Fritz Kaufmann finds his theory of religious experience narrow and his theory of man based solely on man's "cultural achievements": Cassirer, "an Apollonian nature," ignores the "failures and limitations" of man and the experiences of "fear and trembling, shame and repentance, guilt and sin." W. H. Werkmeister points to the difficulty of conceiving language as a symbolical form, along with myth or science, when the forms are interpreted by Cassirer as "points of view." Harold R. Smart thinks that Cassirer is too charitable to the "symbolic logicians," who "cut mathematics off from all essential connection with experience," and that he is thereby unfaithful to his basic position. From the present reviewer's standpoint these criticisms vary greatly in merit. It is a pity that Cassirer could not have replied. They stand, however, as a challenge to students of Cassirer and of contemporary thought.

Notwithstanding these considerations, the present volume differs from its predecessors in a significant respect: the proportion of expository and historical matter is much greater, and the proportion of direct criticism is much smaller. To this extent it reflects Cassirer's own philosophic method. He always approached philosophic problems in terms of some tradition. Philosophic and historical analysis were indissociable. The union in Cassirer's hands was fruitful and usually impressive; but in reading him one often feels that he is not fully aware of the difference between making one discipline serve another and reducing one discipline to another. The contributors, collectively speaking, define Cassirer's ideas by locating them historically; they are primarily impelled to approach a philosophy as he himself might have approached it.

In still another respect this volume differs significantly from its predecessors. It makes available what they, by their very nature, could not—the flavor, the idiom, and the issues of philosophy as practiced in continental Europe. This is certainly an asset. And yet I wish that Cassirer might have been compared with other figures in contemporary philosophy besides neo-Kantians and phenomenologists. Felix Kaufmann makes a brief but suggestive comparison of the theories of science held by Cassirer and Dewey. Similar instructive comparisons might have been made with Santayana and Royce—with the former's version of "the phases of human progress," and with the latter's theory of "interpretation."

There is a lot of duplication in the book. Some of it, I suppose, is the result of poor planning. But the editor might well impress upon future contributors the virtues of economy. Some of the essays are guilty of padding to a monstrous degree, others only of unconscious redundancy. One or two essays are hardly concerned with Cassirer at all. I for one would like to have seen more of the space devoted to the examination of specific concepts in Cassirer, especially those which bring him into close contact with other contemporary issues. Many of his distinctions do receive adequate attention in this huge book, but philosophic evaluation seems usually to be arrested when it is most needed. For instance, Carl H. Hamburg tries among other things to determine the general properties of "symbol" in Cassirer's usage, and Katharine Gilbert synthesizes Cassirer's views on art; but no one examines the validity of Cassirer's distinction between "symbol" and "signal" or the meaning of his contention that art is concerned with "pure form."

Among other contributors are Walter M. Solmitz, Konstantin Reichardt, Hendrik J. Pos, and David Baumgardt. Four memorial addresses are included, and there is a complete bibliography of Cassirer's writings, compiled by Hamburg and Solmitz. (The detailed bibliographies in the series are no small part of its value.) This book is worth owning. Much of it is highly technical. But the sheer range of its historical content guarantees its general usefulness, and toward the understanding of Cassirer it serves as introduction, guide, and commentary. JUSTUS BUCHLER

"Long, Lean Proletarian"

THE BENDING CROSS. A Biography of Eugene Victor Debs. By Ray Ginger. Rutgers University Press. $5.

WORDS which were constantly on the eloquent lips of Eugene Victor Debs, the great labor and Socialist leader, words such as "humanity," "freedom," "love," seem oddly dated in these hard-boiled days. The tight-lipped, humorless characters who have come to stand for symbols of radicalism in the public's mind dismiss Debs as a "hopeless humanitarian," though when they're in trouble they lay claim to be the inheritors of the Debs brand of indigenous Socialism, a claim that must cause turning in a Terre Haute grave.

This latest, full-length portrait of Debs done by a youngster who never knew the "long, lean proletarian," but who has caught his indomitable spirit, comes like a May Day breeze into the conspiratorial world of renegades, spies, and counter-spies which has lately been pictured for us as representing latter-day American "radicalism." Debs lived out his Socialist life very much in the open and as Heywood Broun said at the time

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of Debs's death in 1926, that whole life proved that there could be brotherhood in this unbrotherly world.

Debs came to his Socialist faith in his middle years, a veteran of the bitter labor wars of the middle nineties, and to the end he gave selflessly to the cause he had chosen. He sought no personal power. "When I rise," he said once, "it will be *with* the rank and file, not *from* them." Debs was a good hater of the Right people, the Fat Boys and their injunction-serving judges, double-talking liberals, phoney "revolutionists." He would put a long finger on some pet hate, damn him with "large, divine, and comfortable words," and then somewhat shame-facedly explain that the victim of his sulphurous malediction was, after all, the product of his capitalist environment and not wholly to blame for his nefarious conduct. Debs's rank-and-file audiences were not troubled by psychological problems of conditioning. They agreed with 'Gene that the judge or railroad executive or crooked politico in question was a no-good so-and-so and they loved 'Gene for rearing up and laying it on the line in contrast to the timid Sam Gompers, Debs's successful rival, who abandoned his early radicalism for "business unionism" with the A. F. of L. label. Debs never told the workers that any elite corps from the Socialists or any other leftist organization would act as Boy Scouts to guide them over the rough places on the way to the cooperative commonwealth. He told them they must organize industrial unions and join with farmers and white collar people in a political party of their own that would fight against wars, depressions, and the cruelties of the competitive system which he believed brought these man-made plagues about, and for the people's ownership of key industries and natural resources, the granting of civil rights to all minority groups, the extension of social security, and the correlation of industrial with political democracy.

Within a short twelve years after the founding of the Socialist Party by Eugene and his beloved brother Theodore Debs, Seymour Stedman, Morris Hillquit, Victor Berger, and the other pioneers, a million Americans were voting for Debs for President. Woodrow Wilson and other political historians were belatedly discovering the important part played by democratic socialism in the making of the American mind. Then World War I put a stop to all radical activities and put Debs behind the bars at Atlanta on the trumped-up charge that he had obstructed the draft by his speech against war at Canton, Ohio, on June 16, 1918. "There was not much in [the speech]" says Mr. Ginger, "that he had not said many times in the past, but that speech became a by-word, a flaming document in the Socialist movement, because this was war, and men did not say the things they might say in time of peace. Thousands of Socialists warmed themselves on bleak, cold days with the memory of Eugene Debs standing on the platform at Canton, speaking his mind."

This excellent biography tells the story of Debs's leftward march from the Terre Haute days when he was city clerk and Democratic Assemblyman, a brilliant organizer of the conservative railway brotherhoods and editor of the staid *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine* to the times of Socialist agitation, with a wealth of new material which the author has dug up from countless sources. It is when he attempts to describe the factionalism within the Socialist Party, a factionalism from which Debs stayed away, that the young author understandably bogs down. Thus he writes that the Socialist Party had its "final disintegration" in 1919 when the left-wingers who were on their way to Communism attacked the stoutly held belief of Debs and the great majority of the party that Socialism could be won only by means of peaceful persuasion. Then for fifty-six more pages, Mr. Ginger tells of the further progress of the "disintegrated" party, which, of course, is still alive and kicking as usual, with the bulk of its immediate demands of the Debs era translated into legislation, and its central philosophy still a challenge to the anarchy of capitalism and the dictatorship of communism.

The author atones for his confusions over left-wing factionalism by setting at rest two myths about Debs which still have currency in certain quarters. One is that his wife Katherine was a harsh, unsympathetic mis-mate who drove Debs to drink. The other is that Debs, after his release from Atlanta, was going Communist. Readers of "The Bending Cross"—and here's hoping their name will be legion—will find that Mr. Ginger's documentary evidence effectively disposes of both these hoary yarns.

Don't let the ineptly chosen title of this book with its vague religious connotations bother you. It is taken from a hearts-and-flowers speech of Debs when he was in the mood to fling around a bit of Bryanesque oratory. Debs had his ideas about organized religion from his boyhood hero Colonel Bob Ingersoll, and Mr. Ginger goes to some pains to set them forth at length.

MCALISTER COLEMAN

Books in Brief

THE ASPIRIN AGE: 1919-1941. Edited by Isabel Leighton. Simon and Schuster. $3.95. Twenty-two writers describe personalities and events that made the headlines in the years between the wars in articles written especially for this book. Easy reading and pleasantly nostalgic although one could wish that the selection of subjects had been a little less haphazard and the treatment a little less superficial. Outstanding among the selections are The Man on the Ledge by Joel Sayre, The First Hundred Days of the New Deal by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., and The Mysterious Death of Starr Faithful by Morris Markey.

CONGRESS ON TRIAL. By James MacGregor Burns. Harper. $3. A lucid and deeply illuminating study of Congress and how it functions; or, more often, fails to function. The best feature of the book is its tough-minded

CRITICS' AWARD FOR BEST MUSICAL
RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN
MARY MARTIN · EZIO PINZA
In A New Musical Play
South Pacific
Music by RICHARD RODGERS
Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
Book by
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN
Adapted from JAMES A. MICHENER'S Pulitzer Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"
Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN
Scenery & Lighting by Jo Mielziner
with MYRON McCORMICK
MAJESTIC THEA., 44th St. W. of B'way
Air-Conditioned. Mats. Wed. & Sat.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

approach to the problem on the basis of practical politics and case histories. The author ends up with a program for reform based on greater party responsibility and stricter party control. Highly recommended.

EDUCATION FOR A NEW JAPAN. By Robert King Hall. Yale. $6. A detailed study of the theory and practice of Japanese education with suggestions for its reorganization in order to carry out the ambitious project of reeducating the Japanese people for democracy. Of special interest is the analysis of the handicaps imposed on the Japanese people by the complexities of their written language together with proposals for its reform.

AMERICANS BETRAYED. By Morton Grodzins. University of Chicago. $5. A voluminous study of all the circumstances which led up to the decision to evacuate the Japanese from the Pacific Coast during the early months of the war; a decision, as the author says, "without precedent in the past and with disturbing implications for the future." The result is a disheartening picture of regional hysteria fanned to a flame by selfish interests, of political pressures, and of administrative maladroitness.

EQUALITY. By David Thomson. Cambridge University Press. $1.25. One comes to this small volume in the Current Problems Series expecting something vaguely ethical and profoundly dull and is pleasantly surprised to find a stimulating analysis of the history, implications, and limitations of the theory of equal rights of men and nations.

LEAVE IT TO THE PEOPLE. By Quentin Reynolds. Random House. $3.50. A cheerful report by a habitual optimist on the fight for democracy in Palestine, Italy, Greece, France, Holland, Germany, and Norway. On this assignment Reynolds concentrated on typical plain citizens. The long section on Palestine is excellent; the rest, hurried and superficial.

PERSPECTIVES IN MEDICINE. Columbia. $2.50. Six Lectures to the Laity in the New York Academy of Medicine Series: The Atom in Civil Life, by Lewis L. Strauss; Food and Civilization, by Sir Raphael Cilento; On Being Old Too Young, by Edward J. Stieglitz; Perspectives in Cancer Research, by Cornelius P. Rhoads; Psychiatry for Everyday Needs, by William C. Menninger; and The Interrelation of Pure and Applied Science in the Field of Medicine, by James B. Conant. Unusually stimulating for a book of lectures.

HOW PSYCHIATRY HELPS. By Philip Polatin, M. D. and Ellen C. Philtine. Harper. $3. A useful attempt to present to the uninformed reader some conception of the variety of therapeutic techniques which modern psychiatry offers. Not for those who are seeking self-help, the book seems designed for the families of hospitalized patients who become confused when they hear about lobotimy, topectomy, shock treatment, etc.

LONDON ffRR LP's
— LES DISCOPHILES PROUDLY PRESENTS: —
LONDON ffRR Long Playing Microgroove Records:
* GILBERT & SULLIVAN: Trial by Jury, $5.95. H. M. S. Pinafore, $11.90. Pirates of Penzance, $11.90. (All with D'OYLY CARTE OPERA CO. Complete NEW recordings! !)
* MOZART: Piano Concerto No. 24 (K. 491). Long with Concertgebouw Orch. Van Beinum, $5.95. Overtures to 8 Operas, Boyd Neel Orch., $5.95. DVORAK: String Quartet No. 6 (American) Griller Qu., $5.95. BEETHOVEN: Overtures to Fidelio, Coriolan, Egmont, Leonora No. 1 LPO under Schuricht, Van Beinum and Krauss, $5.95.
* These and about 350 other Special LP's are available under amazing *Discophiles* LP Bonus Club. For lists and Bonus Information send 10¢.
* Amazing selections in Renaissance and Baroque Music on French and Italian labels. Catalogue 15¢ postpaid.
LES DISCOPHILES, 1079 Lexington Ave., N. Y. C.
Air-Conditioned Hours 10–12 daily RH 4-9294

JOHN BLOW:
Venus and Adonis two Orchestral Suites. 2–12" Oiseau-Lyre. $4.20
ELAINE MUSIC SHOP
9 East 44 Street Dept. N New York City 17
Catalogue: 10¢ post paid. Sample copy of record review "JUST RECORDS" on request

RECORD LETTER
A monthly listing of new classical releases from most European countries, the U. S., South America, Australia. Not a review.
25¢ a copy $2.50 per year
RECORD LETTER
Box 978 Kirkland, Washington

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

"SOUNDS as though someone were having a good time," was the correct observation of a friend who was listening with me to the little Columbia record of Chabrier's Marche joyeuse performed by Mitropoulos and the Minneapolis Symphony. The piece is one of the most delightful by this fascinatingly original minor master; the performance points up its amusing gaiety exuberantly, and is well reproduced on the 78 r.p.m. record I heard (19013-D, with the Coronation March from "Le Prophète" on the reverse side where it should not be).

Vaughan Williams's Symphony No. 6, on the contrary, is about the bad time he had during the war—in ranting musical terms which I have had a bad time listening to—though for Stokowski "this is music that will take its place with the greatest creations of the masters." It is the first and third of the four connected sections that I have been speaking of; the quiet second section is quite lovely; and the fourth is a quiet Epilogue, in a strangely and attractively original idiom, but characteristically long-winded and repetitious, and hardly for me what it is for Stokowski—"one of the most profound expressions in all music." Stokowski's comments are in the album of the recording he made for Columbia—of a performance with the New York Philharmonic that is well reproduced on 78 (MM-838, 4 12").

Beethoven's Concerto for violin, cello, and piano is, for me, an uninteresting work, which is given an excellent, if occasionally melting, performance by Bruno Walter, conducting the New York Philharmonic with its fine concertmaster, John Corigliano, its superlative solo cellist, Leonard Rose, and its competent pianist, Walter Hendl, as soloists. The sound on 78 (MM-842, 4 12") is very good except that the violin is sharp and the piano dull and not always clearly heard.

The Court Air from Respighi's Ancient Airs and Dances for the Lute has some lovely music which is made to carry too heavy a load of Philadelphia Orchestra tone in the performance conducted by Ormandy and well reproduced on 78 (12973-D) and LP (3-190).

Kurt Weill's "Down in the Valley," which has been produced by the Lemonade Opera Company, and which I heard on the radio last year, is a work similar to Duke Ellington's "Black, Brown, and Beige," which represented the idea that since the Negro had produced jazz, jazz was the medium in which to tell in musical terms everything that had happened to the Negro in America from his arrival in slave ships to his participation in World War II. Or to Gershwin's "Porgy and Bess," behind which was the idea that since the Negro had

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

contributed to the amalgam of Broadway show music, Broadway show tunes were the right musical medium for a comedy-melodrama about Negroes in Charleston, S. C. Or, most of all, to a work called "Susanna, Don't You Cry," produced in 1939 by the American Lyric Theater, in which anything and everything that happened in an operatic romance about the mid-nineteenth-century mid-South was tacked on to a melody by Stephen Foster.

"Down in the Valley," that is, is described as a folk-opera because its rural-folk characters sing their anguish and terror and other powerful emotions in completely irrelevant American folk-melodies divorced from their own texts. And there is additional irrelevance in the style in which the melodies are used: Weill's adaptation to the American scene has had the result that when the man about to be hanged for murder thinks with desperate longing about his girl, or she thinks similarly about him, each breaks into what is in actual style a leading tenor's or soprano's number in a Broadway musical, complete with Robert Russell Bennett orchestration. Obviously that doesn't work—except for the confused minds who are responsible for the eighty or so productions the work has had, and its present success in New York.

CONTRIBUTORS

MARGARET MARSHALL, Literary Editor of *The Nation*, recently spent a month in England.

ERNEST JONES, who is a regular contributor of reviews to *The Nation*, is a member of the English Department at Queens College.

CHARLES E. NOYES, now in public relations work in New York City, was director of the Civilian Surveys Division of the War Production Board.

JOSEPH KRAFT is a history fellow at Princeton University.

JUSTUS BUCHLER is Assistant Professor of Philosophy at Columbia University.

MCALISTER COLEMAN, left-wing journalist, published in 1930 "Eugene Victor Debs, Man Unafraid," which was the first full-length biography of the Socialist leader. He is now working on "A History of the Plain People."

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Negba Rebuilds

Dear Sirs: Recalling the interesting article you published last fall (*The Nation*, December 18, 1948) regarding the heroic and decisive battle of Negba, I could not help wanting to share with you, and perhaps your readers, the thrilling experience of participating in the celebration one year later of this great victory. I was privileged to meet Captain Jakob Wayland (Kuba) when he was in Hollywood and to show him around. He recently returned home from N. Y., and busy as he was he insisted on showing me around.

I had been in Negba just two days before while travelling through the Negev, when they asked me to return for the celebration of the first year of the battle and the tenth year of founding the settlement. Since they were completely occupied with reconstruction from the effects of almost complete devastation, I had no idea of the proportions that the event was to assume. The members of Negba, referred to often as "Negbagrad," have not been able to return there as yet to live. They hope to be ready by Rosh Hashanah.

The place was entirely transformed from two days earlier. The flags of Israel and of the Hashomer Hatzair rippled proudly in the warm evening breeze from the top of the old water tower which had been shot full of gaping holes by the Egyptians, and which will stand as a memorial to the brave men who died defending it. The same flags also flew atop the beautiful new water tower just completed. On the old was an illumination "1948" and on the new "1949." People poured into the settlement by truckloads and busloads; the fighters returning to the scene, members of surrounding Kibbutzim, and many from the cities. The women of Negba had arrived at 6 a.m. to prepare sandwiches for that crowd which numbered about 5,000. The youth arrived in the afternoon and set up an enclosure around the old water tower in which they exhibited almost professionally executed models of Negba as it was before the attack, Negba under fire, and Negba as it will be when reconstructed. The people of Israel streamed through looking at these and pausing sadly before pictures, in memoriam to those who had lost their lives here. A convincing exhibit for any who still doubt the role of Great Britain in Palestine was a collection of shells and ammunition of every description, used by the Egyptians and all British made. The crowd then gathered around the heroes' graves and the mourners sobbed helplessly as a poem was read to the memory of the dead.

Following the memorial service elaborate flares illuminated the night sky as the soldiers marched on the parade ground, and from here all took places on the many benches provided in front of a large platform, surrounded with flags and even strings of electric lights. (None of this had been visible two days before.) The sign above the platform read, "The Victory of the Battlefront is the Fruit of Many Years of Creation." "The battle goes on." The south of the Negev must now be "invaded" by establishing new settlements. This was the theme stressed by Kuba Wayland, as chairman, Moshe Sharett, foreign minister, Zirumbavel, of the executive board of the Jewish Agency, and others.

Through almost super-human effort the citizens of Negba and Israel have won their freedom. After witnessing the celebration at Negba, July 12, 1949, I know they shall keep it.

GERALDINE STERN

Tel Aviv, Israel, June 21

How to Win Friends

Dear Sirs: Your editorial The U. S. and Red China (*Nation*, July 30) is entirely realistic. China does need to trade with the United States and Britain to increase her pace of industrialization. But we believe that China can be industrialized under our new democratic government even without outside help, though the speed will be slower.

Some people expect Mao Tse Tung to become another Tito. To them I say simply that any attempt to interfere in China's internal affairs can only lead to failure. It is the opinion of the people, not the decision of the leader which is important. The communists are supported by the Chinese because they are working hard to better the lot of the common people. The United States is hated because American bombers and bullets have killed thousands of Chinese. I regret that the long standing friendship between the American and Chinese people has so disintegrated since 1946. Still I believe that this

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

friendship will be reestablished when this country takes a more realistic approach. I cannot see how the developing situation in China can hurt the interests of the American people. More likely the industrialization of China will help the United States to avert a depression. And the attitude of the Chinese people toward America will change when and only when the United States sends machinery for production instead of ammunition for destruction.

D. C. WU

Manhattan, Kansas, August 6

The Test of a Magazine

Dear Sirs: In answer to your circular letter just to hand, requesting renewal of my subscription to your esteemed publication, I hardly see how that can be accomplished unless you will do a little more than just furnish the papers.

Housing conditions have forced me into a blind alley near a locomotive repair shop of the Reading Company, which causes the air to be almost constantly pregnant with soot, which, when the wind is unfavorable to my location, is driven into the homes there. Thus, to protect all my worthwhile reading matter from this dirt, I have to keep it packed in fairly strong folding boxes, and those I have, happen to be just ⅛" short in length.

About a month ago I wrote to your firm in regard to this matter, asking whether the paper could be trimmed ⅛" shorter. In so doing, I stated the inside length of the box, and you figured that ¼" would have to come off; however, ⅛" is all that is over. I can well understand that too much trimming would throw the paper out of its proper format, yet, ⅛" would hardly be noticed.

It was suggested by you that I do the trimming, but as I have no cutter, I can not do it, nor can I afford to buy a cutter for this purpose.

Therefore, unless you will furnish the paper of the proper size, or furnish me with thirty folding boxes of the right quality and thickness of board not less than 2" in depth, at a price of not more than six cents each, I am sorry that I cannot renew my subscription, which I should truly regret.

H. M. ERNST

Philadelphia, Pa., July 30

RESORTS

Adult Camp on SCHROON LAKE

SCHROON CREST IN THE ADIRONDACKS — a resort that is "different"

POTTERSVILLE, N. Y.

SPORTS All Sports; Water Activities; Horses; Bicycles; Game Room. 5 Clay Tennis Courts — Tennis Pro-Tournaments

SOCIAL ACTIVITIES BOB ADLER and Staff AL SHEER Dance Orchestra Shows • Social and Folk Dancing with ANITA and JULES ADOLPHE • The Okun Record Collection. RANDOLPH SINGERS in person week of Aug. 28th and LABOR DAY WEEKEND

EXCELLENT FOOD American-Jewish Cuisine; Cozy Bar.

LEAH OKUN, Director
Booklet on Request. Phones Chestertown 2830-9681
City Office Phones: MAin 4-8570-1230

HUNNS LAKE HOUSE
STANFORDVILLE NEW YORK
90 miles from N. Y. via N. Y. Central
Charming lake and countryside. Bathing boating, fishing, other sports. Beautiful walks. Excellent food. Ideal for vacation and weekends.
REASONABLE RATES
GRETE POPPER Tel. Stanfordville 2931

SACKS FARM SAUGERTIES, N. Y. Tel. 590-J
75 picturesque acres
Superior accommodations. Finest food. All sports including tennis, swimming, horseback riding, bicycling. Supervised activities for small number of children. $45-$50 weekly.
SEND FOR BOOKLET

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes, all sports.
50 MILES from N. Y. C.
FOREST HOUSE
LAKE MAHOPAC, N.Y. • Tel. MAHOPAC 688

DIFFERENT FROM THE REST
Accommodations for 55 • 30th Season
Rates: $12 a day. $70 a week.
TED OHMER'S WESTERN VIEW FARM
New Milford, Connecticut Tel.: New Milford 440

friendly acres
(Answer to your quest)
Informal hospitality • intimate atmosphere • completely modernized Dutch Colonial house on country road • in the Poconos • exceptional book and record library • exceptional food too • sports, including swimming and bicycling • for adults • $45 weekly
Write: RD 1, East Stroudsburg, Pa. Bushkill 18 R-11

Deuel Hollow House
WINGDALE, N. Y. Phone 3691
In Berkshire foothills. 75 miles from N. Y. City on N. Y. Central R. R. Off beaten path, delightful hiking country. Delicious food served on terrace overlooking our private lake. Tennis, volleyball, badminton, boating, swimming and fishing.
Complete Informality
RAIZEL COHEN DAVID SACKS
City Phone: REgent 7-2829

MERRIEWOODE
A CAMP FOR ADULTS
HIGHLAND LAKE • STODDARD, N. H.
Where Interesting People Meet for the Perfect Vacation • Enjoy beautiful Highland Lake, 10 miles long • All Land and Water Sports • Square and Folk Dancing • 4 hours by train from N. Y.—1½ hours by plane • $55, $60 and $65 weekly.
OLIVE "HATTIE" BARON, Director
DEPT N, HIGHLAND LAKE, STODDARD, N. H. PHONE: HANCOCK 98 RING 13

RESORTS

YOU BELONG AT THE NEW Glenmere
(PRIVATE GOLF COURSE)
the GLENMERE, chester, n. y.
Phones: Chester 200 N. Y. REctor 2-5041

Tel.: Monroe 4421
OPEN ALL YEAR
ZINDOREST PARK
ADULTS ONLY MONROE New York

PINE CREST Foothills of the BERKSHIRES
WEST CORNWALL, CONNECTICUT
• A DELIGHTFUL ADULT RESORT •
All sports, including swimming, boating and tennis. Social and folk dancing. Television. Superb cuisine. Private cabins. Near Tanglewood and Summer Theatres.
July Rates $45 up.
DIANA & ABE BERMAN Tel. Cornwall 89W3

LANGUAGES

LINGUAPHONE MAKES LANGUAGES EASY—At home learn to speak Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, French, German, Russian, by quick, easy Linguaphone Conversational Method. Save time, work, money. Linguaphone Correspondence Courses are available to VETERANS under G. I. BILL OF RIGHTS. Send for free book. State if G. I. LINGUAPHONE INSTITUTE, 81, RCA Bldg., New York 20, N. Y.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons by appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee $3.00.

PUBLISHING SERVICE

WRITERS—Efficient sales service for your books, short stories, articles, plays. Free booklet. Write today! Daniel S. Mead Literary Agency, 419 Fourth Ave., N. Y. C. 16.

DRUGS

MEDICAL PRESCRIPTIONS filled at guaranteed lowest possible cost. Ask for prices on all your drug, hormone and vitamin requirements. Ace Mail Order Co., A, East Orange, N. J.

TOBACCO

CIGARETTES—Popular brands, $1.51 per carton postpaid. West of Mississippi add 7¢ per carton. Min. order 3 cartons. Send check or money order. King Co., Box 1713-A, Baltimore, Maryland.

PERSONAL

HIGH SCHOOL MARM, 37, spending summer on Pa Knickerbocker's estate, will swap brainwaves with male correspondent. Interested in anything relating to "The Human Comedy." Box 129, c/o The Nation.

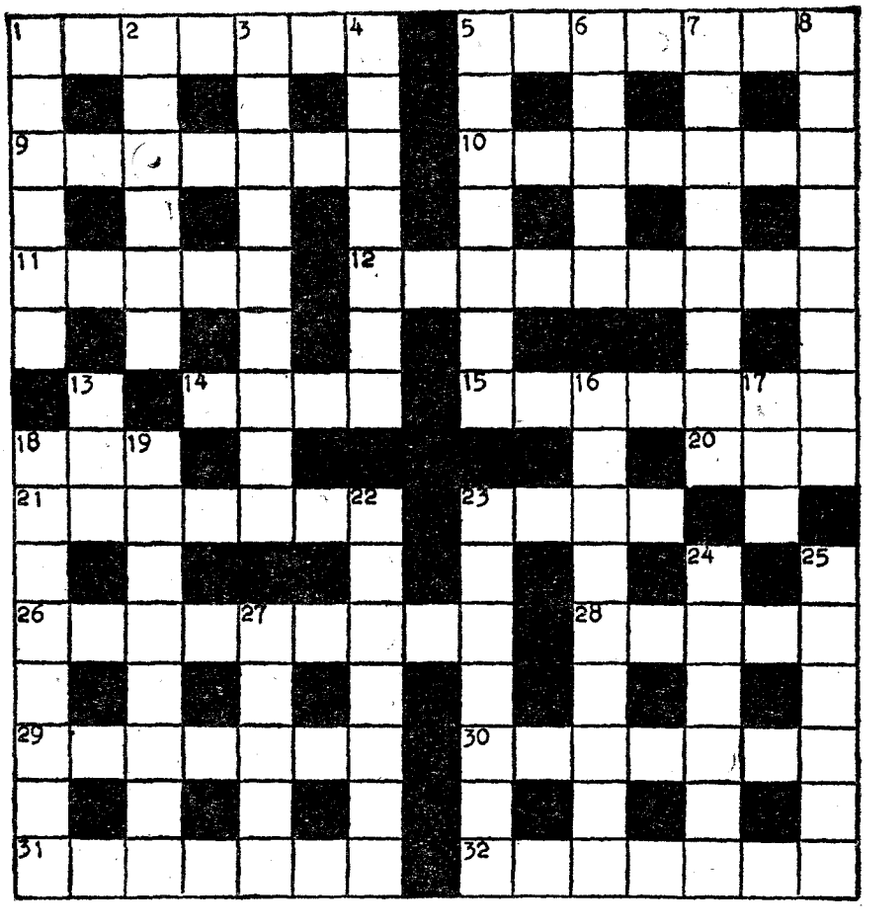
POSITION WANTED

EXPERIENCED New York newspaperman, 33, wants job change to enlist writing ability and initiative in fight against discrimination and disease with organizaton or private business dedicated to same ideal. Box 130, c/o The Nation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 323

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Troll in an additional name. (7)
5 What to wrap around a sickly little fellow? (7)
9 Readers? Literary? (7)
10 Tore the clue to pieces. (7)
11 Festal day in South America. (5)
12 Their missions are usually in capital. (9)
14 See 7 down.
15 Dirty hearing apparatus, else! (7)
18, 18 down, 1 down, 2 down Should have 1,001,000 14, according to 7, etc. (3, 8, 3, 3, 6)
20 Spread out—it might be Lewis! (3)
21 Rose's was for 32. (7)
23 See 7 down.
26 It's doubtful whether or not it comes out of Ancient Ur. (9)
28 An Arab's headgear without its sticky part. (5)
29 Windy, perhaps. (7)
30 Alias Sir Percy. (7)
31 The Reverend goes to extremes with his change of scene. (7)
32 See 21. (7)

DOWN

1 and 2 See 18 across.
3 Occasionally a contractor's hands are. (9)
4 Squatters. (7)
5 Able to go to pot in more ways than one. (7)
6 Foreigners without an article to their name. (5)
7, 23 across, 8, 14 That's 998 more than I've got! (3, 5, 3, 1, 8, 4)
8 See 7.
13 Relative of "Sunny." (3)
16 Senator or other sounding-board. (9)
17 Father William was concerned with the balance of this. (3)
18 See 18 across.
19 Only the Democrats' went to college recently. (8)
22 Refuse comes up around the corny part of 15. (7)
23 What one sometimes plays at the races. (7)
24 Blow on a ticket. (6)
25 It's a wheel, for fair! (6)
27 The lift that only the boss can give you. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 322

ACROSS:—1 WOODCRAFT; 6 DANCE; 9 BOMBAST; 10 THIMBLE; 11 RUN; 12 GAFFER; 13 GASH; 15 CRY HAVOC AND LET SLIP THE DOGS OF WAR; 16 PERSON; 18 TUSSLE; 20 TWEEZERS; 23 MAIN; 25 EAR; 28 UNTRUTH; 29 INTERNS; 30 TREND.

DOWN:—1 WEBER; 2 ORMANDY; 3 CHANGEABLE; 4 ACT OF GOD; 5 TITHES; 6 DIAS; 7 NUBIANS; 8 ELEPHANTS; 14 SEVENTY-TWO; 15 CATAMOUNT; 17 DWELLING; 21 EYEBROW; 22 UNSHOD; 26 RISER; 27 MUDD.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

RESORTS

All At Attractive Summer Rates
All Sports
Entertainment
Painting & Crafts
Send for our vacation guide today!
A DELIGHTFUL HIDEAWAY IN THE MOUNTAINS
CHESTERS
WOODBOURNE N.Y. Tel WOODBOURNE 1150
Hospitably, Anne Chesters

Relax, Rejoice with Summer at
Lakecrest
On Hunn's Lake Stanfordville, N. Y.
Informal Retreat for ADULTS in the heart of Dutchess County. 90 miles from New York via N. Y. C. R. R. to Amenia, N. Y. All Seasonal Sports. Library, delicious food, modern accommodations.
WRITE OR PHONE YOUR RESERVATIONS
EVA BERG, Director Stanfordville 2328 or 2982

PLUM POINT
on the majestic Hudson
• seasonal sports
• delicious food
• gay informality
65 MILES FROM NYC • NEW WINDSOR, NY • NEWBURGH 4270

HATHAWAY LODGE
OPEN ALL YEAR — FOR ADULTS
Formerly the palatial 592-acre Macy estate in the beautiful "Hills of the Sky." Luxurious rooms. Many with open fireplaces. Magnificent mountain trails. Tennis courts, handball, horseback riding. Private swimming pool, sun deck. Recordings, ping pong, library, informal dancing. Delicious food. Easy transportation.
Attractive Rates
For reservations or booklet write or call
HATHAWAY LODGE, Haines Falls, N. Y.
Telephone: Tannersville 299

Timberland
POTTERSVILLE, N. Y.
AN ADULT CAMP IN THE ADIRONDACKS
Special September Rates
Limited to 100 • Dancing & All Sports
N. Y. Office: 33 W. 42 St. • LO 5-3674
The Rare Charm of an Intimate Congenial Group

berkshire devotees
vacation at
SHADOWOOD—LENOX, MASS.
New, different place. Restful, informal, comfortable. Fireplaces, records, delicious food. Badminton, lawn games, swim, golf. Near Jacobs Pillow, dance festival and excellent summer theatres. Special rates from August 14.
Reserve Now for Labor Day Weekend
Mrs. L. Rosenberg

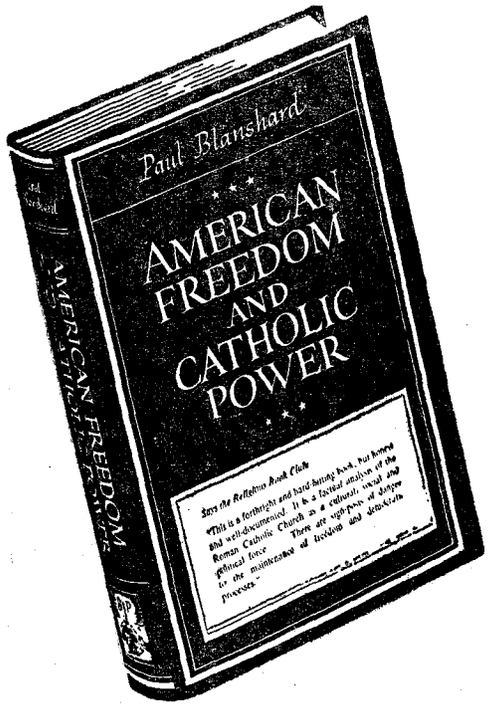
where can I find BREATHTAKING SCENERY?
at
ROSS COUNTRY CLUB
MONROE, N. Y.
Monroe 6161 N.Y.: BR 9-9547
of course!

50 MI. FROM NEW YORK
MAMANASCO Lake Lodge
Ridgefield, Conn. • Phone 820
A modern resort of distinction. Ideal for Summer and Fall vacations and weekends. Mile-long lake. All seasonal sports. Varied indoor diversions. Television and recordings. Excellent cuisine and accommodations. Moderate rates in keeping with the times.

Printed in the U. S. A. by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Today one of the most talked about books!



BEACON PRESS
Cloth Bound, 350 Pages
$3.50

Says John Dewey:

"Paul Blanshard in his 'American Freedom and Catholic Power', has done a difficult and necessary piece of work with exemplary scholarship, good judgment and tact."

Says "Christian Science Monitor":

"A book that might prove historic. . . . Measured, coolly reasoned and backed by a broad range of careful scholarly research."

Says Joseph M. Dawson, Executive Director, Baptist Public Relations, Washington, D. C.:

"The publication of this volume is likely to be an event of historic significance.... It is a calm, analytical, factual presentation.... The book is heavily documented; INDISPENSABLE TO THE AMERICAN CITIZEN."

AMERICAN FREEDOM *and* CATHOLIC POWER

By PAUL BLANSHARD

¶ "American Freedom and Catholic Power" is now in its sixth printing—40,000 copies to date, and for the past three weeks has been selling faster than ever before.

¶ The Book-of-the-Month Club has put it on its current list of recommended books.

¶ All this success in spite of the fact that practically all of the newspapers have refused to either review or advertise the book.

¶ If you have difficulty in obtaining a copy of "American Freedom and Catholic Power" at your bookstore, or want to be certain you get a copy of this remarkable work, we suggest that you order it now, through The Nation's Book Service Department. By filling out the convenient order form and mailing it, with your remittance, you will be sure of getting your copy, postpaid without delay.

Book Service Dept., The Nation Associates, Inc.
20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

I enclose my remittance of $3.50 for which please mail me, postpaid, the 350-page, cloth-bound volume of Paul Blanshard's "AMERICAN FREEDOM AND CATHOLIC POWER," published by Beacon Press.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone_____ State_____

8/20/49

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED